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WOMEN PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

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WOMEN PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

A STUDY MADE FOR THE
WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

BY

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TO

MARY MORTON KEHEW

A LEADER OF UNFAILING VISION
WHO MADE THIS BOOK POSSIBLE

INTRODUCTION

WHAT is a profession? What persons may properly be classified as professional workers? These are especially pertinent questions at the present time. The term "professional" has been employed somewhat indiscriminately because of the multiplication of callings requiring initiative, judgment and independent thought, as well as definite technique. The time has come for a searching analysis and an authoritative definition of professional work.

Under the stimulus of war women entered many callings long recognized as professions, and many which as yet belong in the unclassified twilight zone between the older professions and the trades. In all of these women have proved their competency. They have remained and multiplied. It is now demanded that educational institutions furnish training which will either enable women immediately to find lucrative employment in these new spheres of effort or will equip them with a basic knowledge and the point of view of the professional neophyte. What shall this training be? Colleges and universities are groping in the dark.

A number of non-academic agencies have of late begun to approach the problem in a new way. They have studied the professional tasks that women perform, in the belief that a picture of the worker in action is the best guide to the successful formulation of the worker's training.

In the pages that follow Dr. Adams offers a penetrating analysis of the essential characteristics of a profession. Out of a wide and practical experience she draws the picture of women in the professional field and she brings together the records of those immensely valuable investigations which may be termed in undignified phrase, the "job analyses" of the professions. The book is primarily the

history of the conquest by women of a new terrain where their gains have not yet been consolidated. It serves an important secondary purpose which perhaps its author did not have in mind. It brings to officers of colleges and universities that indispensable information concerning the content of new professions on which alone sound professional training can be based.

SAMUEL P. CAPEN

PREFACE

THIS book has been written with the interests and needs of several groups in mind and so far as possible with their coöperation. It is designed, first, for the thoughtful undergraduate who is trying to select her occupation, or, having selected it, trying to see its professional and social relations; second, for the young woman two or three years out of college or school who has drifted into a "dead-end" occupation or from one occupation to another, and is now trying to get her bearings and to take a longer view; third, for teachers and administrators in colleges and schools—deans, principals, vocational advisers, and so on—who are seeking a broader basis in fact and outlook in their dealings with young people; fourth, for employers who are increasingly turning to the colleges and professional schools for young men and young women workers; fifth, for men and women everywhere who are considering the scope and nature of the professions and the implications of the new participation of women in the worlds of inquiry and affairs. So wide a range of possible readers and a field so rapidly changing and still so imperfectly explored mean of necessity more questions asked than answered, many not even asked, facts used illustratively rather than exhaustively. While the book contains considerable first-hand material both from professional workers and from their employers, and seeks to reach impartial conclusions in the light of the best available evidence, it is by no means a research study. Throughout, the professional problems of women have been treated in connection with the professional problems of men, although much remains to be done in this direction. It is hoped, therefore, that the discussion may not be without value to men professional workers and to those who are training and advising them. The day is coming when it will be neither necessary nor profitable to write separate

books for men and women of the professional groups. But while women remain a new and somewhat indeterminate professional "labor-supply," consideration of their training, status, and prospects affords an opportunity to approach from a new angle the problems which are confronting all professions and professional workers in the modern world.

Women Professional Workers was undertaken in 1917 at the request of Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, for many years the farseeing and public-spirited president of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, and at the suggestion of Miss Florence Jackson, director of the Bureau of Vocational Advice and Appointment of the Union, the first of the bureaus of occupations for trained women in the United States and a leader in the intensive study of occupations for them. While written independently and on a different plan, it takes in some sense the place of a pioneer volume now out of print issued in 1910 by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union entitled *Vocations for the Trained Woman: Introductory Papers* and made up of brief descriptive articles on occupations other than teaching contributed by experienced workers in the several fields then open to women. This volume was followed in 1914 and 1916 by two volumes devoted to intensive, first-hand studies of opportunities for women in agriculture, social service, secretarial service, real estate, and domestic science. Together, they make up Parts One, Two and Three of *Vocations for the Trained Woman,* included in Volume One of the Union's series of *Studies in Economic Relations of Women.*

In the decade between the publication of *Vocations for the Trained Woman: Part One* and *Women Professional Workers* the situation of educated women as regards teaching and other professions has undergone almost a reversal. To-day the attention of young women of ability and professional intent needs to be called specifically to teaching as the most fundamental and important type of public and social service. The chapter dealing with this field has purposely been placed after the chapters dealing with other fields in order to present teaching in its relations to these professions and to modern social movements.

The writer's sincere thanks for assistance are due to the professional women and their employers who filled out her schedules of inquiry and gave her personal interviews; to the men and women experts in many lines who kindly read and criticized chapters dealing with their several professions; to many organizations and individuals who generously furnished information, especially to the colleges, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the New York Bureau of Vocational Information, and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. But for the facts presented, the opinions expressed, and the limitations of the treatment, she alone is responsible.

Conway, Massachusetts
November, 1920

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WOMEN PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

CHAPTER I

WHO ARE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS?

THERE has never been a time when it was so necessary for professional persons, men or women, young or old, novices or veterans, to ask themselves honestly and thoughtfully: Why do I call myself a professional worker? What am I doing to justify the title? The unprecedented demand for experts of many sorts during the war magnified the importance of the professions while at the same time it challenged many of their comfortable assumptions. Old professions have changed places in the scale of values; new professions have emerged and are emerging. The temper and methods and outlooks of all professions are undergoing profound alterations. For the first time they are beginning to consider seriously their relations to one another, to other groups of workers, and to the social order as a whole. Women in far greater numbers are looking to professional careers. The very term "professional" has acquired a widespread and easy popularity. To answer the first two questions, accordingly, we must attempt to answer two others: Who, today, may justly be considered as national workers? What, to-day, may justly be considered professional occupations?

To get at the distinguishing marks of a professional worker, it is the part of wisdom to look first at the historic "learned professions" of medicine, law, and divinity. All three involve: (1) a considerable period of special prepa-

ration and training, tending to become more exacting; (2) a public and frequently legal recognition of professional status, by examination, registration, ordination, and the like; (3) eligibility to membership in professional societies and associations carrying with it the obligation to maintain professional standards of skill and conduct; (4) a consequent position of responsibility in and to the community; (5) practice of the profession as a permanent calling providing an adequate livelihood.

Dictionary definitions agree substantially, although in far more majestic language, upon these marks of a profession. They all point out that the derivation of the word emphasizes the public and active character of the occupation, the original Latin word meaning open or public avowal, a sense retained in speaking of the profession of a monk or nun, public admission into a religious order. They likewise call attention to the social responsibilities flowing from the special training and public recognition involved. A profession is a "vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of science or learning is used by its practical application to the affairs of others either in advising, guiding, or teaching them, or in serving their interests or welfare in the practice of an art founded upon it." The Oxford Dictionary quotes Frederick Denison Maurice as saying in 1834: "A profession in our country is expressly that kind of business which deals primarily with men as men and is thus distinguished from a trade,[1] which provides for the external wants or occasions of men." They mark off a profession negatively from other occupations. It is not purely mechanical, commercial, agricultural, or the like, although it may concern itself with all these fields; it is not mere skill; it is not mere study and investigation; it is not mere pursuit of one's own purposes. The old description of a profession as involving mental and not manual work has lapsed with the growth of the scientific and technological professions and the use of instruments of precision and

[1] For suggestive comparisons between a profession and a trade, see *Trades and Professions*, by Prof. George H. Palmer. Riverside Educational Monographs (1914) and Teaching as a Profession, by Frank Roscoe, in *Cambridge Essays on Education* (1917).

techniques of manipulation. But the insistence upon intellectual direction and control is stronger than ever.

Even the secondary use of the term professional as opposed to amateur, in speaking of a professional coach or a professional entertainer, carries with it the idea that the occupation is followed as a calling and not as a mere avocation or pastime. The Oxford Dictionary emphasizes the ethical obligations of a profession in saying that the adjective professional is "disparagingly applied to one who makes a trade of anything that is properly pursued from higher motives, as a 'professional politician.'" The popular estimate of unworthy professional practitioners is reflected in such epithets as quack doctor, shyster lawyer, sham minister, and in the slight distrust attaching to a person who has fitted himself for one of these three professions and then fails or ceases to follow it—witness the gibes that our legislatures are made up of unsuccessful lawyers and that the most glittering oil and mining stocks are offered by ex-clergymen. On the other hand, the popular belief that a certain prestige is given by the term "professional" accounts for its use by dancing-masters, chiropodists, masseurs, fortune-tellers, and so on, constituting a pseudo-professional fringe.

A careful analysis of the characteristics of a genuine profession is given by Dr. Abraham Flexner in an address delivered before the National Conference of Charities and Correction, entitled "Is Social Work a Profession?"[1] Dr. Flexner's six criteria are as follows: (1) Professions involve essentially intellectual operations with large individual responsibility; (2) They derive their raw material from science and learning; (3) This material they work up to a practical and definite end; (4) They possess an educationally communicable technique; (5) They tend to self-organization; (6) They are becoming increasingly altruistic in motivation.

Dr. Flexner drives home the necessity of intellectual mastery and consequent assumption of responsibility in a profession. "A free, resourceful, and unhampered intelligence applied to problems and seeking to understand and

[1] *Proceedings*, 1915.

master them—that is in the first instance characteristic of a profession. . . . Responsibility follows from the fact that professions are intellectual in character, for in all intellectual operations the thinker takes upon himself a risk. . . . The execution or application of a thought-out technique—be it crude or exquisite, physical or mental—is, after all, routine. Some one back of the routineer has done the thinking and therefore bears the responsibility, and he alone deserves to be considered professional."

His fourth criterion is a concrete and practical test amid the multitude of new activities calling themselves professional and the flourishing crop of "intensive" and "special" courses sown by the war. "Each of the unmistakable professions . . . possesses a technique capable of communication through an orderly and highly specialized educational discipline. Despite differences of opinion about details, the members of a given profession are pretty well agreed . . . as to the amount and kind of training, general and special, which should precede admission to the professional school; as to the content and length of the professional course. These formulations are meant to exclude from professions those incapable of pursuing them in a large, free, and responsible way; and to make sure that those potentially capable are so instructed as to get the fullest possible benefit from the training provided." The importance of this criterion as a measure of the assured standing of a profession is illustrated by the evolution of professional training in medicine and law from apprenticeship with some old doctor or lawyer to institutions like the Johns Hopkins Medical School or the Harvard Law School. The development within a decade or so of schools of social work, schools of journalism, schools of commerce and business administration, schools of public health, are significant indications of growing professional standards in these fields. Everywhere professional schools of reputation are requiring at least two years of college work for admission. They advise college graduation, and a small but increasing number insist upon it. Nowadays no occupation can justly claim professional standing if its specialized training is based upon anything less than a full high-school education as an irreducible mini-

mum. No worker, moreover, who is not equipped with a generous liberal education and the best professional training is prepared to advance to positions of full professional responsibility.

Dr. Flexner takes a hopeful view of the tendency of professions to self-organization. "Professional activities are so definite, so absorbing in interest, so rich in duties and responsibilities, that they completely engage their votaries. The social and personal lives of professional men and their families thus tend to organize around a professional nucleus. A strong class consciousness soon develops. . . . Organizations of physicians, lawyers, and teachers may find the personal interests of the individuals of which they are composed arrayed against those of society at large. On the whole, however, organized groups of this kind are, under democratic conditions, apt to be more responsive to public interest than are unorganized and isolated individuals. In any event professional groups have more and more tended to view themselves as organs contrived for the achievement of social ends rather than as bodies formed to stand together for the assertion of right or the protection of interests and principles."

Professor Palmer [1] presents the group spirit of the professions even more winningly. "It is significant that we do not say 'a professional.' . . . Our common term is 'a member of a profession,' plainly indicating that he who deserves to be called such is no longer a merely individual person. He has merged his individuality with that of others and now belongs to a troop, a company, a brotherhood, who possess a common stock of knowledge, common purposes, common standards which are continually growing and to which each member of the brotherhood is expected to conform and contribute."

It is undoubtedly true that the contributions of the professional groups during the war did much to quicken their sense of public and social responsibility, and that they are now confronting larger obligations and opportunities. But the fact remains that their close organization in the past has too often made them exclusive and self-satisfied, taking

[1] *Trades and Professions*, pp. 22, 23.

their "public" character in a narrow and conventional sense. There has been a certain snobbery about many professional persons; and the much vaunted systems of "professional ethics" have often become in practice hardly more than rules of professional etiquette, operating against flexibility of mind and breadth of outlook. Each profession has been a world in itself, learning little from other professions and indifferent to the world at large. The spirit of the times and their own progress are doing away with these limitations; but professional customs and habits of mind are strongly entrenched, and cannot be transformed in a day.

Medicine has taken the lead in adopting a more social and coöperative attitude through its new emphasis upon prevention and public health. That it is prepared to go still further is indicated by the present active discussion of "group" medical practice, as illustrated at one end of the financial scale by the Mayo Clinic and by certain hospitals and dispensaries at the other. But all professions are facing demands upon them for public service and are coöperating in public enterprises. The new ideas at work found expression in the program of an inter-professional conference held in Detroit in November, 1919, where the three main topics for discussion were: (1) Professional organizations; their functions and interrelations; (2) Relations of the professions to the public; (3) Educational obligations of the professions. Detailed topics proposed for discussion were as follows: The possibilities of coöperation among the professions for the common good; comparison of the ethical standards of the different professions—in how far are they socially minded, in how far self-regarding; can the professions be made more democratic? Should they become professional guilds? How can the idea of the obligation for public service be extended among the professions? Can the enthusiasm of the war-time service to the Government be perpetuated to any appreciable degree? To what extent do the professions now supply the quality and scope of service needed by all classes of society? How can the professional man get into right relations with all salary and wage earners who come under his direction? Can the professions represent the public interest in matters of labor adjustments

How can education for the professions be made more real as to problems of the day? How can the average professional establishment be made more democratic, and so advance the education of both masters and men? What can be done to spread, in the high schools and colleges, knowledge of the significance, ideals, and functions of the several professions?

A practical attempt to distinguish professional and non-professional workers was made in instructions sent out in February, 1919, to field offices of the women's service of the Professional Section of the War-Emergency United States Employment Service:—

"Applicants for professional registration shall present satisfactory evidence that they are doing, or are qualified to do, work of a professional character; and that their needs cannot be met through other sections of the U. S. Employment Service.

"Workers doing routine work under the direction of others, using a simple mechanical operation or any simple skill or practice easily learned and not requiring long education and experience, or the exercise of any considerable initiative or independent judgment in dealing with either people or things, shall not be registered as professional workers, unless they are undertaking such routine work with a definite professional purpose and for a limited period of time as apprentice workers. Among such non-professional workers shall be grouped, unless they present evidence to the contrary, the following types of worker:—bookkeepers; cashiers; clerks; collectors; commercial machine operators; foremen; inspectors, testers, etc.; retail salespeople; stenographers; telegraph and telephone operators; typists.

"In general, a worker shall be considered professional who is equipped by ability, education, and experience to maintain and to improve standards of operation in the work in which she is engaged; to know both why it goes right and what to do when it goes wrong. She is therefore qualified to assume positions of increasing responsibility in one or more of the following capacities:

"(1) Administrative, executive, and managerial work: planning and supervising the carrying out of serious undertakings.

"(2) Expert work of a technical character: medicine, law, engineering, laboratory science; investigation and research of any kind—economic, industrial, educational, social, statistical, scientific; mastery and use of a special subject-matter and technique.

"(3) Special services not falling under (1) or (2): teaching, library work, social work, journalism, advertising and publicity, wholesale salesmanship, etc.

"While the type of work done, rather than any specific kind and amount of education, shall determine professional standing, education is important evidence in registering workers as professional. . . . College education is at least presumptive evidence that an applicant is a professional worker. College graduates without experience or professional training shall be registered as professional apprentices and be given professional information and guidance.

"No applicant with less than a full high-school education or its equivalent shall be registered as a professional worker without careful inquiry into her subsequent training and experience."

A mark of the professional worker too often considered of minor importance is *practice providing adequate livelihood,* although, as we have seen, it is theoretically held that pursuit of a profession in the spirit of trade or the making of profits seriously compromises professional character. Further reflection shows that this is an essential and not a superficial attribute, bound up with the maintenance of professional integrity, responsibility, and intellectual freedom. The stress falls upon the adjective "adequate," since both shortage and surplus interfere with the highest professional accomplishment. Inadequate livelihood hampers the professional worker by distracting his mind from professional problems and interests and by restricting his opportunities for professional and personal growth and satisfaction. Pursuit of profits hampers him equally in another way, by substituting a different set of problems and interests for his

professional problems and interests. In spite of workers who have achieved professional distinction and reputation under conditions of great poverty or great wealth, it remains psychologically true that both unpaid bills and fat dividends are hostile to the soundest professional development. "It may be doubted," says Graham Wallas, "whether the life of the professional writer without other resources has not destroyed as much thought as it has produced." [1] The growing number of research foundations and research fellowships in this country; the European practice of government grants to especially promising young workers; the belated recognition that college and university teaching cannot be fruitfully carried on by faculties perpetually harassed by the struggle to educate their children, to present a decent personal appearance, to secure needed vacations or opportunities for further study—all illustrate this position.

Professor Palmer thus describes the professional attitude toward the matter of livelihood: "It is seen that the professional man must live while doing work which is manifestly of value to the public, and accordingly a stipend, fee, honorarium, or salary is provided to cover that mode of life which is thought appropriate for him, the kind of life and the consequent scale of salary being designed to secure three essential elements in his work, namely, freedom, efficiency, and dignity. These elements and not money are what the professional man and his public regard. . . . So long as he has a due degree of freedom, is able to work with full efficiency, and can maintain the dignity which his calling demands, his mind is discharged from monetary considerations." [2] The professional worker, he says, sells experience, judgment, advice. "We have no other merchandise than ourselves." He is not working for profits nor on a rate basis, so much work for so much pay.

It is a sign of the times that the term "private practice" is coming to have a faintly obsolete sound, as a term incompatible with the non-competitive and public character of professional work. We hear more of "independent practice" or "consulting practice" or "group practice." Profes-

[1] *The Great Society* (1914), p. 187.
[2] *Trades and Professions*, p. 9.

sional workers are becoming in much larger numbers salaried persons; and where they charge fees do so increasingly in accordance with a rate agreed upon by their group and publicly known. The idea is becoming established that they are workers in the public interest and officially or unofficially in the public service, earning a livelihood commensurate with their professional value, but not concerned with profits. H. G. Wells writes thus of the motives and the rewards of professional workers: "The real necessary work of the world—I don't mean the labor and toil only, but the intelligent direction, the real planning and designing and inquiry, the management and the evolution of ideas and methods—is in the enormous majority of cases done by salaried individuals. . . . All the engineering design, all architecture, all our public services, the exquisite work of our museum control, for example, all the big wholesale and retail businesses, almost all big industrial concerns, mines, estates—all these things are really in the hands of salaried or quasi-salaried persons. . . . For all who really make, who really do, the imperative of gain is the inconvenience, the enemy. Every artist, every scientific investigator, every organizer, every good workman, knows that. Every good architect . . . can tell of time after time when he has sacrificed manifest profit and taken a loss to get a good thing done as he wanted it done; every good doctor, too, has turned from profit and high fees to the moving and interesting cases, to the demands of knowledge and public health; every teacher worth his or her salt can witness to the perpetual struggle between business advantage and right teaching; every writer has faced the alternative of his æsthetic duty and the search for beauty on the one hand and the 'salable' on the other." [1]

This growing detachment of professional workers from the competitive struggle for profits gives ground for an affirmative answer to the question posed by the Inter-Professional Conference: "Can the professions represent the public interest in matters of labor adjustments?" In many ways they seem to stand at present as the ideal mediators between capital and labor and to be preëminently the group

[1] *New Worlds for Old* (1908), pp. 95, 98.

thus described: "The Public is the name of those who in any crisis are seeking the truth and not advocating their dogma. The idea of the Public is simply a short way of expressing the great faith that a group of men and women will always disentangle themselves from their prejudices and will be sufficiently powerful to summon the partisans before the bar of reason." [1] But it is only fair to say that neither party to the controversy is fully ready to admit their competence.

To secure some basis for an answer to our second question: What, to-day, may justly be considered professional occupations?—it is well to look briefly at the social origins and social functions of certain professions. Students of social evolution have pointed out that the "learned professions" originated as groups charged with the repairing of tribal damage and injury:—the medicine-man the damage of disease and bodily hurt, conceived of as due to evil spells; the judge the damage of violations of tribal code; the priest the damage of violations of tribal ritual. All dealt with lapses and interruptions, with what may be called pathological social conditions. Only gradually, of course, were their functions differentiated. From this point of view, the tribal artist contended against disintegrating influences of individual emotion and behavior through stirring group feeling and group action by means of tribal song, dance, dramatic representation, and decoration. The teacher emerged from the group of elders as the person charged with repairing the damage done to the adult standards of the tribe through the constant introduction of immature members, in this case a biological rather than a pathological deviation. Professor Palmer says that all professions are "redemptive" in character. They arose as agencies for the restoration and maintenance of group integrity and well-being, and became directly concerned with group regulation and control. It is no wonder that they have often become conservative in the false as well as in the true sense of the term.

To-day, however, the professions are laying stress upon their constructive as well as their reconstructive functions. Medicine is increasingly preventive, concerned with the task

[1] Walter Lippmann. *New Republic*, November 12, 1919.

of keeping people well and raising health standards as well as with the task of curing disease; law is striving to strengthen the conception of justice and to make people law-abiding and law-respecting as well as to punish law-breakers; the church upholds the pattern of the righteous man rather than the horrible example of the sinner; the school seeks not only to bring the young to the educational level of their elders but to work through them for a higher level. Positively or negatively, therefore, professional workers have to do with the maintenance and improvement of organized society and the individuals composing it. Their primary concern is always with "men as men"; and the professionally-minded person keeps this idea alive under the technicalities and details of his active professional work. He is always in a deep and large sense a humanist.

From this point of view of the professions as agencies of social regulation and improvement, they may be classified as: (1) Professions directly regulating and improving human behavior, dealing directly with people: government, law, the ministry, medicine and nursing, teaching, social service, personnel service, other types of applied psychology. (2) Professions indirectly regulating and improving human behavior through supplying the conditions for satisfactory living: scientific agriculture and forestry, engineering in all its forms, architecture, applied biology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics, scientific organization, management, and research. (3) Professions indirectly regulating and improving human behavior through supplying concrete incentives to thought, emotion, and action: journalism and publishing, literature and the other arts, religion in its more personal aspects.

In any such classification the overlappings and interlacings are obvious, and reveal the close and intricate pattern of modern life and work. Government is concerned with the dissemination of information and with the regulation of material conditions quite as much as it is with the direct regulation of people. The ministry is shifting from direct control through constituted church authority to indirect control through religious ideas, emotions, and examples. Architecture stimulates æsthetic feeling as well as providing ma-

terial shelter. All the material processes and operations of modern life are on so vast a scale that multitudes of people are occupied in the different stages of making things ready for human use. The forester, the engineer, the chemist, have to deal not only with timber and machinery and chemical substances and reactions but also with the innumerable workers through whom these things result in marketable products. They have to meet complicated matters of human behavior at almost every turn. Some of the leading schools of forestry and engineering are giving serious attention to the human aspects of these professions, the "behavior patterns" and "behavior controls" involved in them. All professional schools need to do so, to realize that every profession has its human and psychological side as well as its technical side. All professions are social services, and "professional relations" need to be studied as carefully and impartially as industrial relations.

This line of thinking leads to three further considerations, which can be only presented here but which will be developed in succeeding chapters. They are (1) the extent to which professional workers shall regulate the conditions of their own employment; (2) the extent to which professional workers shall regulate the conditions governing the employment of other groups of workers, industrial and commercial; (3) the extent to which certain workers in the fields of industry and commerce are entitled to be considered professional.

Light on the first point is supplied by the fact that the professional worker is essentially a person capable of assuming responsibility and of forming independent judgments and plans. Otherwise he is a subordinate, a "routineer." With the modern professional tendency toward salaried positions and away from independent practice, there is a real danger of loss of professional freedom. Teachers and government workers, two exclusively salaried groups, have long been subject to this limitation. In both teaching and government service, however, a vigorous movement is on foot to give the workers a share in the administration of their institutions, school systems, or departments.[1]

[1] See National Education Association, *Report of Council on Na-*

Light on the second point is supplied to a considerable extent by what has just been said. While the expert has never been so greatly in demand in all aspects of modern activity, he can no longer do his work successfully as an autocrat, but must in some way secure the intelligent and willing coöperation of the other workers through whom alone he is enabled to carry out his plans and policies. Sidney Webb said in 1917 to a gathering of British "works managers": "First, let me remind you that you belong to a brain-working profession, just as much as do the doctor, the architect, the engineer, though your profession is only now becoming conscious of itself as a distinct profession, the profession of management. . . . What the manager has principally to handle is not wood or metal, but human nature, not machinery, but wills. He will remain for all time an indispensable functionary, whatever may be the form of society."[1] H. L. Gantt, the well-known industrial engineer, has recently maintained that industry in the future must be conducted for production and service and not primarily for profits; that democratic management must be in the hands of the engineer, the professional man who knows "what to do and how to do it."[2]

Light on the third point comes from the views just quoted. In so far as those regulating industrial and commercial enterprises and working for their improvement are salaried experts, interested in efficient production and distribution for the common good rather than in the accumulation of profits; in so far, even, as they are owners and proprietors with these qualifications, they are entitled to rank as professional workers. Both industry and commerce have long employed many persons belonging to recognized professions—lawyers, doctors, engineers, accountants, scientists. To-day, they are developing their own professions of industrial management, commercial management, personnel management. They are setting up their own bureaus of

tional Emergency in Education (1919); *Report of Congressional Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries in the Washington Civil Service* (1920), pp. 110, 111.

[1] *The Works Manager To-Day* (1918), pp. 2, 4, 5.

[2] *Organizing for Work* (1919).

commercial and industrial research, their own training systems for every type of worker. They are coöperating actively with universities and colleges in programs of both training and research. The Associated Technology Clubs [1] have recently inaugurated a movement whereby some three hundred industrial corporations representing the major industries of the country are coöperating with a large number of higher institutions to "eliminate educational waste by drawing joint specifications for men; industries to set forth the qualifications that college graduates should have and the colleges to state their facilities for meeting these needs." The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has research arrangements with a large group of industries. Ruskin long ago saw the merchant as a professional worker; [2] Glenn Frank writes to-day on "Making Business a Profession." [3] Industry and commerce conceived in these terms may accordingly be included in our second group of professions, those indirectly regulating and improving human behavior through supplying the material conditions for satisfactory living.

From the nature of the professions as human and social services springs the disinterestedness which is at least formally recognized in all codes of professional ethics. The worker of true professional spirit will not sacrifice the standards and reputation of his profession for any personal or partisan ends. There are, as has been said, shallow and jealous and snobbish professional loyalties, mere manifestations of the tribal mind. But there is also an intellectual and moral devotion to the cause of a chosen profession that is loyalty in the sense in which the term is used by Josiah Royce. Professions are not coldly intellectual pursuits. It is their enthusiasm, their "devotions to impersonal ends" [4] that make professional workers leaders, creators in the conscious remakings of human affairs. They are at least supposed to make their professional choices freely as the

[1] See Hollis Godfrey. *Cooperation between Industry and the Colleges. Educational Review.* June, 1920.
[2] *Unto This Last.* "The Roots of Honor."
[3] *Century Magazine,* April, 1919.
[4] Walter Lippmann. *Drift and Mastery* (1914), pp. 27, 28.

result of some native bent or aptitude and thus to be bound to them by ties stronger than those of accident or exigency. They do their work at its best for "the fun of the thing." [1]

Because of this disinterested loyalty professional workers are zealous for their own professional improvement. Their minds play actively upon professional problems, and they seek to make some contribution to their solution or at least to fit themselves for progressively valuable professional service. It is highly important, therefore, that professional workers keep themselves alert in these respects in spite of the drain and pressure of daily professional duties. Every profession and not merely teaching should have its "sabbatical years," its other special leaves of absence, for professional reënforcement and development. By just so far as professional workers slip into ruts and are content to "jog along"; by just so far as they become enmeshed in mere techniques and lose professional imagination; by just so far as they are harassed and thwarted by narrow circumstances, they fail to measure up to the best professional standards, and are in danger of falling into the class of "routineers."

A deeply significant modern point of view looks upon all human occupations and the modes of living conditioned by them as satisfying or not satisfying fundamental "instinctive trends" and as leading in many cases to abnormal "repressions" or "baulked dispositions." [2] Professional occupations are peculiarly rich in opportunities for normal satisfactions, and under right conditions impose few undesirable repressions. They afford scope for the exercise in various "sublimated" forms of most of the instincts woven into the pattern of human behavior—the instinct of curiosity, the instinct of mental activity, the instinct of workmanship, the instinct of leadership, the herd or fellowship instinct, the instincts both of settling and roaming. If professional workers have scant chance for the direct exercise

[1] *Trades and Professions*, p. 14.

[2] See Thorstein B. Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship* (1914); Graham Wallas, *The Great Society* (1914), Chapter 4; Carleton H. Parker, *Motives in Economic Life*, In Bloomfield's *Employment Management* (1919); Helen Marot, *The Creative Impulse in Industry* (1918); Ordway Tead, *Instincts in Industry* (1918).

of the instinct of acquisitiveness or ownership, they may find substitutes in the collection of data or copyrights or favorable reviews. For the hunting and fighting instincts, they have the excitements of proving a hypothesis, of planning a building or a campaign, of conquering a disease—all the moral equivalents of war so incomparably set forth by William James.[1] Beyond most people living and working under modern conditions, professional workers have both an opportunity and an obligation to become adequate human beings,[1] free from "personality and conduct disorders."

In fact, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the true professional worker in any field, whether he be doctor, teacher, engineer, scientist, "social worker," or business executive intelligently shouldering responsibility, has in him something of the artist, the maker. He knows the joy of craftmanship, the play of constructive imagination, the emotional tingle that accompanies the endeavor to embody an idea in concrete form, the glow and heightened sense of life and capacity that mark the accomplishment of a delicate and difficult piece of work well done and recognized as such by fellow-workers. In such experiences and such satisfactions lie his greatest rewards.

[1] *Memories and Studies* (1911). "The Moral Equivalent of War." See also in the same volume, "The Social Value of the College-Bred."

CHAPTER II

WOMEN AS PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

WOMEN in particular at this juncture need to take stock of their professional situation and prospects. The past five or six years have undoubtedly done much to advance and define their professional status. New doors have been set ajar and old doors set wider open. They stand at the beginning of a period which may be notable for their professional as well as their political enfranchisement and progress. But it is no time for easy optimism nor for relaxed effort. There is considerable reaction from the professional hospitalities extended during the war; and women who worked shoulder to shoulder with men are discovering that the masculine shoulder may again be coldly turned. It is a time rather for women to think clearly and resolutely about the requirements and obligations of professional life; to recognize that they cannot expect at the same time full professional recognition and the full privileges of leisure. They must admit frankly that even to-day they are far less fully and unequivocally professional than men and in many fields still professional beginners. They have special problems of their own to meet and solve, such as the basic problem of combining a professional career with marriage and parenthood. In addition, they will have to forge ahead for some time to come against a professional psychology which forgets all about them even more frequently than it objects to them, and is prone to include all women in certain sweeping generalizations:—that the prospect of marriage makes them a shifting and undependable labor supply; that they are not willing to stand squarely on their record as workers, but evade responsibility for mistakes by falling back on the personal and social; that they lack group spirit and group standards; that they are detail-minded and not plan-minded;

that they are more appropriately assistants and substitutes than directors and organizers—a sort of innately secretarial sex.

Professional women will disprove assertions of this kind —which contain an element of truth—not so much by pointing out that they rest largely on a confusion between "stop-gap" workers and professional workers, and that individual differences are immeasurably greater than sex differences,[1] as by displaying professional competence and tenacity of a high order and by refusing to accept either privileges or disabilities on the ground of sex. For the present, since they are helping to establish the professional position of women, they are called upon to demonstrate courage and stability to an even greater extent than men of the same professional equipment and at the same time to avoid the pitfalls of sex rivalry or sex exploitation. In the long run, they will succeed in proportion to the extent to which they meet professional standards as workers and citizens and not as women, while recognizing that these standards are not final revelations but part of a group process, to which they have something to contribute. The professional groups of the future, far more than of the past, will be composed of both men and women, and their standards and policies will be shaped by both. Just what changes and distributions of effort this will bring about remain to be seen, although they will undoubtedly arise. Present opinions are based on far too slender an array of fact and experience to be of much value. But it is highly important to remember in this connection that a profession is not merely an intellectual acquirement but a way of life involving many instinctive and emotional adjustments. Women as relative newcomers will have to make these adjustments in larger measure than men, and at the same time to modify in more respects their social and personal arrangements. The next few years will require large-mindedness and patience and imaginative insight on the part of both men and women in the professions. But there is every hope that mutual tolerance and understanding and goodwill will grow out of a closer association

[1] See H. L. Hollingworth, *Vocational Psychology* (1916), Chapter 10.

in common objective efforts, in spite of the fact that the professional group, like the family group, contains within itself tendencies toward antagonism as well as toward co-operation.

Meanwhile, the indirect gains of professional women from the war period are greater than the direct gains, and are largely psychological. Women are thinking of themselves as professional workers, and men are thinking about them, with a new seriousness and a new vividness. Even their discovery that they are not so important as they thought themselves to be during the war puts them upon their professional mettle. This new professional awareness of women comes fortunately at a time when the world is considering as never before the relations of all groups of workers to one another and their respective contributions to a just, decent, and satisfactory social order; it is, indeed, one of its manifestations, since women in general have been among the "forgotten groups." It comes fortunately also just when the professions themselves are acquiring an unprecedented public importance and a new flexibility of mind.

A real psychological advantage of women going into the professions in the present troubled and unstable period lies in the fact that they confront its difficulties and possibilities with a freshness and disinterestedness that to some extent compensate for their inexperience in the world of affairs. They deal with the situation in hand, unhampered by old professional and political and business entanglements, by catchwords and conventions that clog thinking and impede action. Their professional innocence is a real asset if it be free from an undue docility and timidity on the one hand and an airy self-confidence on the other. Most of all will it be an asset if it enable women to avoid professional pomposity and to acquire the real spirit of craftsmanship, respect for the work to be done, whatever it is, and for fellow workers, which is at the bottom of all worthy self-respect and social usefulness.

Professional women need to gain perspective and background by thinking of themselves as workers among other groups of workers and by measuring themselves against men as well as women. Just now it is impossible to do

this fairly by means of statistics, since our only available census figures are ten years old, and conspicuous changes in the position of women workers have occurred within the decade. Moreover, the professional classification of the 1910 census is as mysterious in its inclusions as in its omissions. Nevertheless a few citations may be suggestive and convenient for comparison with the 1920 figures when they appear.

In 1910 over 80 per cent of all males ten years of age and over were in gainful occupations; over 23 per cent of all females. In the thirty years between 1880 and 1910, the percentage of men employed increased only a little more than 3 per cent; the percentage of women 58 per cent. Of all persons engaged in gainful occupations, 21.2 per cent, or more than one in five, were women, ranging from 1 per cent in mining to 67.1 per cent in domestic and personal service. The percentage of women workers varied considerably in different sections of the country, being highest in the industrial states of New England and in the agricultural south, where colored women work in the fields. All told, there were in 1910 over eight million women in gainful occupations, including women doing outdoor work on home farms but not including women doing their own housework, A recent estimate places the number of wage-earning women at approximately eleven millions, eight millions of whom are between fourteen and twenty-one years of age.

Of the eight million women workers in 1910, 733,885, or 8.3 per cent, as against only 3.8 per cent of men workers, were listed as professional. Women formed 44.1 per cent of the total professional group, a more nearly equal number of men and women than in any other large occupational division. Professional men and women together, however, formed only 4.8 per cent of all workers. Any elation at the proportionally larger number of women in the professional group is quickly dissipated by the discovery that the bulk of women professional workers were actors, authors, artists and teachers of art, musicians and teachers of music, school teachers, and trained nurses, the very occupations in which professional standards are most elastic. In the other occupational divisions, 12.9 per cent of the workers in trade

were women; 16.6 per cent of the workers in agriculture; 17.1 per cent of the workers in manufacturing industry; 34.2 per cent of the workers in clerical service. Between 1880 and 1910 the figures show a steady decrease in the percentages of women employed in unskilled and personal services and a steady increase in the percentages employed in skilled, clerical, and professional services. The census of 1920 may be expected to present much more startling evidence of the emergence of women from the ranks of the unskilled.

In 1910 the percentage groupings of women in the various occupations classified under professional service were as follows: Of architects, chemists, clergymen, draftsmen, engineers, and lawyers, less than 1 per cent were women; of doctors and dentists, less than 10 per cent; of college presidents and teachers, designers, editors and reporters, less than 25 per cent; of actors, artists and sculptors, authors, and teachers of athletics and dancing, less than 50 per cent; of musicians and teachers of music, religious and charity workers, school teachers, and trained nurses, more than 50 per cent. Eighty per cent of teachers and 92 per cent of trained nurses were women. The classification does not recognize professional librarians, accountants, actuaries, or statisticians; it provides inadequately for many types of scientist and engineer; it relegates social workers to semi-professional pursuits under the headings "religious and charity workers" and "keepers of charitable and penal institutions," where they are in strange company with fortune-tellers, hypnotists, theatrical owners and managers; it has no place for experts in industrial and commercial management. In view of these and other inadequacies, it is discouraging to learn from the Federal Bureau of the Census that no important changes have been made in the Fourteenth Census in the list of occupations given under professional service.

The rates of increase of men and women in some of the professions during the thirty years between 1880 and 1910 are worth noting. In law, the number of men nearly doubled; the number of women increased nearly eighteen-fold, from 75 to 1,343. In medicine, men gained by about two-thirds; women five-fold. Men dentists more than

trebled; women dentists increased twenty-fold. Men architects increased nearly five-fold; women architects seventeen-fold, although in actual numbers only from 17 to 302. Men journalists were two and a half times as numerous in 1910 as in 1880; women journalists were fourteen times as numerous.

A census of college women taken in 1915 under the auspices of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ,[1] and including 16,739 graduates of eight eastern colleges for women and Cornell University, showed that 67.7 per cent of these women had been at some time in gainful occupations, and that 42.7 per cent were so engaged in 1915. Of those at any time employed, 83.5 per cent were teachers; 22 per cent were in other occupations. Of those at work when the census was taken, 70.3 per cent were teachers; 29.7 per cent were in other occupations. Of employed women graduating from college between the years 1880 and 1890, 27.5 per cent were in non-teaching occupations; of women graduating between 1910 and 1915, 34.5 per cent. In the 1910 census 65.6 per cent of the women classified as professional, were school and college teachers; 34.4 per cent were in other occupations. Among the teachers in the college census, 30 per cent had done graduate work of an academic character; among the non-teaching group, only 14.3 per cent. Of this last group, however, 38.9 per cent had taken special professional or vocational training. Of 950 women, 30.5 per cent reported training after graduation in social work; 29.4 per cent in secretarial work; 22 per cent in medicine; 9.2 per cent in nursing, and 9 per cent in law. It is to be hoped that this census of college women may be taken again in 1925 and may include women graduates of coeducational institutions. Perhaps by that time it may be possible also to make some comparisons with a similar group of college men. The occupational facts of the decade between 1915 and 1925 are sure to yield conclusions of exceptional value.

Of more direct importance to women planning to become professional workers are their facilities for securing thor-

[1] Mary Van Kleeck, *A Census of College Women. Journal of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ*, May, 1918.

ough professional education. Most of the professional schools of high standing are now open to them. The past two years have seen the bars let down by the medical schools connected with Harvard, Columbia, and Washington University in Saint Louis, and by the American Institute of Banking. Among law schools of the first rank, Harvard and Columbia stand practically alone in refusing to admit them. Cornell University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the state universities and schools of agriculture and mechanic arts, afford opportunities of the best for engineering and other forms of technical and scientific training. University schools of education, journalism, business administration, and salesmanship very generally admit them freely. Women students predominate in the schools of social work. Several institutions for women of the type of Simmons College in Boston provide a four years' college course combining liberal and professional education. Bryn Mawr College offers graduate work of a professional character in social and industrial services, and Smith College is working toward the same end by another route. In fact, in the past, there have been more opportunities for professional training formally open to women than there have been women ready to avail themselves of them. This has been conspicuously true in coeducational and state-supported institutions. But there have nevertheless been very real barriers of a psychological sort in the professional schools in which men predominate and in which the instruction and field practice have been organized with only men in mind. In some of the newer fields, women will have to emulate for a time the courage of the pioneer women in medicine.

But even in these fields, they will be reinforced by the new professional courage and initiative gained by women during the war period and by the amazing extension of interest in higher and professional education which is manifesting itself both in the United States and in Great Britain, and which is as great among employers as among the new generation of students. This interest is predominatingly due to the signal services of professional experts during the war and to the realization that the types of men and women most

needed can be supplied only through prolonged and appropriate courses of training. Chemists, engineers, public-health doctors and nurses, food producers and conservators, employment or personnel managers, industrial and trade research workers and statisticians, community workers, "Americanization" workers, psychiatric social workers, occupation therapists, have all been in the public eye. Their very titles are in some cases novel. The intensive courses of training for war services given by government departments, by educational institutions, and by large business corporations have both widened the range of professional training and demonstrated the results of new methods, which are being incorporated into the educational system. Colleges, universities, and professional schools are crowded as never before, and extension courses are in such demand that they furnish a social challenge to all higher institutions. But it must be remembered that all this is only an acceleration of a movement in progress for a generation. The reports of the United States Commissioner of Education show that between 1900 and 1916 the attendance of men upon higher educational institutions more than trebled; the attendance of women more than quadrupled. Of the 95,000 women students in 1915-1916, about three-fourths were in coeducational institutions. Practically twice as many women were graduated in that year as in 1907, ten years before. In 1915-1916, women received about two-thirds as many bachelors' degrees as men and about half as many masters' degrees. But with respect to the degree of doctor of philosophy and scientific and professional degrees, they still fell far behind.

A striking manifestation of the new interest in professional education is the multiplication of fellowships and scholarships to promote study along vocational lines. Women need to be particularly alert to these opportunities and to see that qualified women receive them in suitable proportion, and that whenever new funds are provided, the interests of women are duly recognized. The numerous scholarships for discharged soldiers established by the War-Work Organizations and by the American Legion illustrate the present tendency, and are a direct outgrowth of the

educational work undertaken for the American forces overseas. The recently established Institute of International Education is administering a number of exchange fellowships in foreign universities, particularly in France and Scandinavia, open to men and women; the National Research Council with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation is offering fellowships to persons prepared to carry on advanced scientific and industrial research; the Research Bureau for Retail Training of the Carnegie Institute provides eight fellowships; commercial and industrial associations are extending their policy of maintaining at universities research fellowships in subjects pertaining to their special interests; the New School for Social Research is seeking to establish fellowships with a substantial stipend for political and economic research; the American Red Cross has appropriated $100,000 for public health scholarships for graduate nurses who have been in war service; the Women's Farm and Garden Association is giving scholarships in agricultural colleges for women who were members of the Women's Land Army or who did other war work on the land; various agencies are providing graduate scholarships and fellowships for physicians.

There are, besides, older fellowship opportunities to which women are eligible and a few especially for them. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston offers three fellowships in economic and industrial research; the Intercollegiate Community Service Association, formerly the College Settlements Association, three in social and community service. Vassar and Smith each has a vocational fellowship open to its own graduates. The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ administers the Sarah Berliner Research Fellowship in Science and other vocational fellowships. Bryn Mawr College provides several Carola Woerishoffer fellowships in social research; Swarthmore College has the Martha E. Tyson fellowship for women teachers. The University of California has the Preston School of Industry fellowships for research in agriculture, law, political science, social economics, applied psychology, and medicine, open to men and women. The New York School of Social Work and similar schools offer special fellowships;

and schools of public health and industrial medicine are doing likewise. Nearly all professional schools offer fellowships and scholarships of some kind; and fellowships in academic graduate schools have a professional bearing on teaching, social and economic service, applied psychology, and applied science. It has been suggested that the federal government establish fellowships for research in connection with government departments. Many organizations and individuals are making special grants for research to be carried on in colleges and universities.

Closely allied to the provision of fellowships is the recent establishment through endowment or through coöperative or individual effort of a number of institutions for special types of work or for special groups of workers. Among these may be mentioned the Juillard and Eastman music foundations, the Louis Comfort Tiffany Art Foundation, the New School for Social Research, the Babson Institute for Training in Business Fundamentals, the trade union colleges in Boston, Washington, Chicago, and elsewhere. Most of these institutions are explicitly or implicitly open to women, or announce that they will be "as soon as practicable."

Professional women need to take a lively interest in these newer educational enterprises, to participate in them whenever possible, and to share in the shaping of them to sound and democratic ends. They need to see that the free interests of women students are provided for in the pressure of numbers upon the colleges and universities; above all, that higher educational opportunities for women be made as democratically open to all social and economic groups as they have been made for men through the provisions for returned soldiers. Women can do no better work for education and for the community than to establish scholarships and fellowships for women in a wide range of professional fields and to stimulate the attendance upon colleges and professional schools of women from the industries, trades, and distributive occupations. The school for active workers of the Women's Trade Union League has made beginnings in this direction. A system of exchange of students between the academic colleges and the

trade-union colleges would be a valuable experiment. And the academic colleges might well be used during the summer vacations to provide special educational facilities for industrial and clerical workers.

Professional women should likewise at the beginning of this new period give serious thought to the matter of professional associations of various types: those not admitting women; those admitting women but organized and controlled by men; those separately organized and controlled by women; and those coöperatively organized and controlled by men and women together. Women are commonly supposed not to be a "clubbable sex." They are indeed only just coming to recognize the value of associations as a means of fostering professional spirit and maintaining and raising professional standards. But their present relative detachment gives them a chance to study the activities of such bodies and to find out to what extent they genuinely serve the profession and the community; to what extent they merely encourage the spirit of exclusiveness and prestige.

It is commonly assumed that women should seek membership in the men's associations which their professional affiliations entitle them to enter. Many women so doing have been at least outwardly satisfied with mere membership, and have timorously and uncomfortably attended meetings in which they have taken no part, and in which they have been ignored and sometimes discriminated against, intentionally or unintentionally. But the modern professional woman is not timorous, and this sort of thing is undoubtedly passing. For the present, however, there is a good deal to be said in favor of retaining the various types of professional association and using now one and now another as it seems the fittest instrument for accomplishing a definite end. There is still some danger of women becoming mere "paper members" of organizations in the direction of which they have no real voice; and it is often the part of practical wisdom for women to organize a separate association and thus to gain confidence and experience that will win a hearing in later joint associations. Having shown what they can do, such bodies are frequently urged

to share in forming a single organization. Separate associations of women are thus far more a means of education in managing affairs than they are manifestations of a separatist and feminist spirit. They represent merely a stage in the professional evolution of women; and the ideal toward which to work is assuredly the single professional association with women as officers and committee members as well as in the silent rank and file. Work for the suffrage and war service have done much to destroy the popular superstition that women lack the power to shape policies, meet emergencies, and carry out programs.

The position of women as members of associations varies greatly in the different professions. If they are numerous in the profession, or if the profession itself has recently developed, they commonly have full membership and a more or less assured status, as in teaching, social work, library work, and employment or personnel management. The presidents and other officers of national associations in these fields have not uncommonly been women; and they have served on executive committees and boards of directors. But even here men hold for the most part the executive positions.

In other professions there are separate associations and joint associations; sometimes both. Women doctors have a Medical Women's National Association; and may also become members of the American Medical Association. Bar associations have been cold to women lawyers, who have their own Women Lawyers' Association, with branches in thirty-four states. Many legal women, however, prefer to seek membership in their local bar associations. The American Bar Association has only recently admitted women. It was a pleasant irony to have the Association of the Bar of New York City, which is closed to women, recently endorse without qualification the candidacy of a well-known woman lawyer for the office of municipal judge. Newspaper women have press clubs and press associations of their own; and there is a League of American Penwomen. A Women's National Book Association has recently been organized, to which women are eligible who are in any way concerned with the publication and distribution of

books. There are leagues and clubs of advertising women in ten states; and women are admitted to some of the men's associations. Massachusetts and New York have associations of insurance women; but for the most part women belong freely to the men's insurance organizations. There is a national Woman's Chamber of Commerce, with local branches; but the men's chambers are in many cases admitting women to membership. The National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors is well known.

Professional women are coming also to recognize their public responsibilities as members of school-boards and boards of trustees or directors of colleges, hospitals, libraries, and other institutions for public service. In a number of states, notably in Massachusetts and Illinois, and more recently in New York, as well as commonly in the far west, they have served important public boards and commissions both as unpaid members and as paid executives. Through the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, college women are represented in the new American Council on Education, which has a special committee on training women for professional service. They are likewise represented in the new Institute of International Education, which arranges for the exchange of teachers and students between American and foreign institutions and in other ways furthers international educational understanding and good will. Professional women have serious obligations with reference to other organizations of women, such as the National and International Councils of Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, and the Women's Trade Union League.

Since the war there has been a marked interest in professional organization and coöperation. The program of the Inter-Professional Conference meeting in Detroit in November, 1919, has been given in Chapter I. It was initiated by the post-war committee on architectural practice, and representative professional women were invited to attend, and are serving on committees to plan further development. A National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has been established through the good offices of the National Board of Young Women's Christian

Associations, although not under its direct auspices. It is organized in most of the states, and has held two enthusiastic and largely attended annual conferences. Shortly after the signing of the armistice, the War-Emergency United States Employment Service completed the organization of a professional section for both men and women workers, the operation of which was practically suspended when Congress failed to establish the Employment Service on an adequate permanent basis. In January, 1920, the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations for Trained Women held a conference in New York attended by men and women representing universities and colleges, professional associations, and professional employment bureaus, to discuss the subject of a nation-wide professional employment service under non-governmental auspices. A conspicuous current movement is the formation of an increasing number of professional unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and representing especially college professors, school teachers, librarians, and journalists. A similar movement is going on in Great Britain. The Federal Employees' Union, of several years' standing, includes in its membership many scientists and other professional experts in the service of the government.

The relations of professional women to marriage and parenthood is a topic in too unsettled and transitional a state to admit of more than brief consideration. There are still many minds on the subject; and the whole matter is bound up with a changing psychology of the family both with respect to its own members and to the larger social group. But it is no longer taken as a matter of course that women will entirely give up their professional work when they marry, and hence cannot expect to receive serious professional consideration. A growing number of professional married couples—most of them young—are working out the problem together, and making a genuine contribution to social adjustment. The question for many women to-day is not so much a choice between a profession and marriage as the question of how they may combine a profession and marriage with justice and profit to all concerned. There are still many difficulties, some inherent, some the

product of social and economic conventions. But there seems a prospect that more rather than fewer professional women will marry, and that it will no longer be exceptional for a married woman to continue her professional career, and will even be a matter of course so long as she is childless and after her children have reached school age. Women doctors, lawyers, and other independent practitioners have for many years found marriage not incompatible with carrying on their professional activities. An increasing number of women teachers continue their work after marriage.[1] The flexibility of professional work as compared with clerical or industrial work facilitates such continuance in many fields. The tendency since the war toward the development of "group practice" and "consulting services" suggests one type of adaptation. Part-time work is another. The distributions of work and leisure are changing for both men and women.

Economic pressure is undoubtedly helping to stimulate newer ways of thinking about professional women and marriage. Increased costs of living bear nowhere so heavily as upon the salaried groups, clerical and professional. In many cases it is only when both father and mother contribute to the family income that professional people are able to maintain a household and to rear children with proper provision for health, recreation, and education. But the practice has sound psychological and social justification. There is a deepening conviction that in order to bring up children to be intelligent citizens and workers, both parents alike must be intelligent citizens and workers themselves. A woman must continue to use her professional equipment actively and socially. She cannot adequately meet her obligations to her own children without at the same time meeting her obligations to other children and young people of the community, in the school, on the playground, in the home, the store, the office, and the factory. The working out of simpler standards of living and household routine, the

[1] This is strongly urged in a recent bulletin of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching: *The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools.* Number Fourteen (1920), pp. 139-144, 391.

better understanding of the principles and practices governing physical and mental health in children, are making it practicable as well as desirable to meet both sets of obligations and to have one reinforce instead of hindering the other. It is being discovered that intelligent direction of a child's care and companionship with it during certain hours are more fruitful of results and less wasteful than unremitting attention to its routine needs. The people to whom professional women depute some of this routine care are likely to be more intelligently chosen than the people to whom many women of the leisure type entrust their children for a large part of the time.

But even if a professional woman finds it necessary or advisable to give up active professional work while her children are young, or for other reasons, she can bring professional standards and methods to bear upon the problems of family and community life, and has a chance to become that rare and valuable type of citizen, the "professional volunteer," who can direct other volunteer workers and interpret to the supporting and participating public the programs of professional experts. She may be an illustration of the paradox that to be a good volunteer a person must have been a good paid worker, and may become in a valid sense a sort of publicity agent for the professional point of view. Through such services she will be enabled to keep in touch with the progress of her profession against the day of her "second leisure," when she is again ready to enter the professional ranks.

The increasing professional stability of married women will do much to strengthen the position and improve the status of professional women in general, whose advancement has been retarded on the ground that women are a temporary and undependable labor supply because of marriage and the prospect of marriage. Employers have been fond of making rash generalizations about professional women based largely on their experience with clerical and other routine women. Careful comparative studies are needed of the "labor turnover" [1] among men and women

[1] See A. J. Todd, *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work* (1919). Chapter VII.

in responsible and expert positions as well as among men and women routine workers. Some of the following chapters present evidence from employers who are making such studies that in the higher groups the "duration of employment" is practically the same for men and women. Another movement which is improving the status of men and women alike is described in the next chapter: the drawing up of definite specifications for professional workers and the devising of objective methods of testing and rating upon which to base promotion.

On all sides to-day there is a new awareness of the value of the professional worker and a demand which cannot be met for people with a substantial general education, an understanding of the principles which govern human conduct, and a professional training which includes actual practice in all phases of the work to be done and an ability to reflect upon and improve that practice. The progressively successful conduct of any important human enterprise is seen to involve: (1) Professional administrators, superintendents, and managers—the executive group; (2) Professional research and technical experts—the research group; (3) Professional supervisors and instructors of beginners and routine workers—the instructional group; (4) Professional service workers under supervision —the journeyman group; (5) Professional learners in service—the apprentice group. There appears to be a general readiness to admit women to the research and instructional groups, and at least a disposition toward giving them a fair trial in the executive group. This new professional challenge to women is even more searching than the political challenge; and they can meet it only by accepting fully their obligation to prepare for positions of responsibility through serving as professional apprentices and journeymen. With a chance to come out at the top, they can afford to begin at the bottom, as they could not afford to do in the old days when they were consigned to a sort of professional limbo. In meriting and winning a generous recognition as professional workers, they will not only win it for other women, but will be adding to the all too scanty stock of intelligent and expert and disinterested

effort in a sorely confused and harassed world. Graham Wallas says of women: "If they do more work, think more thoughts, and offer a larger contribution of skilled organizers than they do at present to the grievously insufficient personnel by which the Great Society is held together, we shall be drawing a larger dividend from the same body of human capital." [1]

[1] *The Great Society*, p. 348.

CHAPTER III

SPECIFICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

PERSONNEL specifications, or brief descriptions of the particular work to be done and the particular worker required to do it, together with statements regarding rates of pay and lines and methods of promotion, are a new thing in the professions. In the industries, where they are becoming well established, they are known as "job specifications," and represent a combination of the "job analysis" of the planning or "scientific management" department and the requisition for workers made upon the employment or personnel department.[1] They are an indication of the growing attention to the psychological side of occupations and the growing realization of the human and material wastes of occupational vagueness, uncertainties of tenure and promotion, lack of objective ratings and incentives, and maladjustments of various sorts. The professions have been not the least of sinners in these respects; and there is no doubt that clear statements of duties, qualifications, rewards and prospects in professional positions will do much to improve the morale and efficiency of professional workers and to guide and check up professional education. To secure their satisfactory operation, professional specifications should involve a recognition of definite grades of worker and a fair and generally understood system of promotion from one grade to another. While they are more difficult to draw than industrial specifications, they have already demonstrated their usefulness, and there is an ac-

[1] See H. C. Link, *Employment Psychology* (1919), Chapter 20; Franklyn Meine, *Job Specifications* (1920), Bull. Federal Board for Vocational Education; R. W. Kelly, *Hiring the Worker* (1918); Ordway Tead and Henry C. Metcalf, *Personnel Administration* (1920).

tive demand for their further development and for continued investigation of their possibilities.

The most striking examples of professional specifications are those prepared during the war by the Army Committee on Classification of Personnel, under the direction of Dr. Walter Dill Scott, the well-known psychologist. The last edition of its "Trade Specifications and Index of Professions and Trades in the Army," issued in November, 1918, describes some seven hundred types of worker, of whom about two hundred may be considered professional. There are, for instance, fifty-five specifications for chemists. The Committee was at work at the time of the armistice upon fuller professional specifications for officers. It devised a remarkable officers' rating scale, and graded all workers as apprentices, journeymen, and experts in their several occupations. It has published a detailed account of its history and methods, invaluable for civilian work along these lines.[1]

The following model officers' specification illustrates the methods of the Committee. Since army pay and promotion are in accordance with known regulations, there are no statements on these points.

MODEL SPECIFICATION

NAME OF CORPS OR ARM—Coast Artillery Corps.
NAME OF EXACT SUBDIVISION OR ORGANIZATION COVERED—Battery, motorized gun or howitzer.
OFFICIAL DESIGNATION AND RANK OF OFFICER COVERED IN THIS SPECIFICATION—Battery commander, captain.

I. DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES

It is desired that the duties to be performed shall be stated with sufficient clearness to enable the selecting officers to secure a comprehensive view of the duties that will devolve upon this officer. Duties may fall under the head-

[1] *Personnel System of the United States Army* (1919), two volumes. See especially Vol. I, Chapters 13-17, 42, 43.

ings listed below, or under headings you may need to add. Be specific, comprehensive, and complete.

Administration	Technical Duties	Construction
Property accountability	Supply	Maintenance and repair
Property responsibility	Transportation	Personnel
Care of equipment	Engineering	Procurement
Instruction and drill	Finance	Production
Tactical and combat duty	Inspection	Science and research

Under these or other heads state just what the officer does.

If the duties in America and abroad are different, state the difference.

Commands four lieutenants and 219-278 men. Responsible for preparation of company reports and records, for the proper equipment of his command and the messing of the personnel. Responsible for property of the battery: guns or howitzers, motor trucks and tractors; infantry equipment of each soldier; and other company supplies. Responsible for the training and discipline of officers and men as soldiers, and their instruction in loading, firing of guns or howitzers, machine guns and small arms, and the proper care of them; in motor transportation; in observation, signaling, and telegraphic communication; in earthwork construction; in gas defense; and in camouflage. Responsible for the tactical movement of his battery (men, guns, and equipment); tactical preparation of positions for guns; orientation (by means of surveying); calculation of firing data (involving use of trigonometry and logarithms); and correction of data when firing and under fire.

When battery operates independently will assume duties of Major—requiring tactical judgment in reconnoissance, and initiative in direction and supervision of fire.

II. FIRST CHOICE OF CIVILIAN OCCUPATION

That is, the civilian occupation which you consider the nearest equivalent to the army position being described, or which best fits a person to perform the duties of this officer. To the right of this occupation write the number of years of experience you think a man should have had in this

occupation properly to fit him for the duties which this officer performs.

Occupation	Years engaged at it
Civil engineer	3-5

III. OTHER CHOICES OF CIVILIAN OCCUPATION

Supposing a person of the occupation you mentioned above as first choice were not available, what other occupations would you choose. Give at least three, and the number of years engaged.

Occupation	Years Engaged at It
Electrical or Mechanical Engineer.....	3-5
Graduate of recognized technical school with business or professional experience	3-5
College graduate with business or professional experience	3-5

IV. SPECIAL TECHNICAL QUALIFICATIONS

Enter below technical abilities not elsewhere specified.

Required—Working knowledge of mathematics through trigonometry and logarithms.

Desired—Knowledge of mechanics, electricity, and motor transportation.

V. STAFF CORPS SCHOOL

Can this officer function immediately upon being commissioned from civil life, or from another branch of the service, or will he be required to train at a staff corps school, and if so, for how long?

Is required
Is not required } to attend school for three months.

VI. AGE LIMITS

Some positions in the army, but not all, have age limits; that is, the officer should not be older than a certain age, nor younger than a certain age, properly to perform the

duties required. If you consider that age has any bearing on the duties, indicate below:

Possible age limit.....25-45 years
Best age limit.....30-40 years

VII. PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS

Yes	No
✓	

This officer must be qualified for full military service

This officer may be qualified for limited service only, but must be free from the following disabilities .....
.....

VIII. SCHOOLING

In the space below, indicate the minimum schooling required in this officer.

	Graduated		Year completed
	Yes	No	
Elementary school			
High or secondary school			
College		✓	2
Professional or technical school...			
Business school or college			

IX. DEGREE OF LEADERSHIP REQUIRED

Essential	Desired
✓	

Maximum—Officer actually in charge of combatant troops.

Average maximum—Duties executive. Require initiative and control of large force.

Average—Duties largely administrative routine.

Nominal—Officer engaged principally in research.

The Committee on Classification of Personnel thus defined its use of terms applied to workers of different grades of competence and experience:

"As employed in this classification the word Apprentice must be understood to mean apprentice, a partially skilled man, a learner or beginner, not apprentice in the narrow technical sense.

"The word Journeyman must be understood to mean the man who has graduated from the preceding class to the general practice of his profession or use of the tools of the craft, a man of average skill and one capable of operating independently—*i.e.*, a journeyman in the usual sense.

"The word Expert must be understood to mean a specially skilled professional man or journeyman—that is, a workman or specialist who by reason of extensive practice or experience as a journeyman or special or unusual experience is thoroughly familiar with all the phases of his profession or trade." [1]

The Scott Rating Scale for Officers [2] is based on the idea of estimating a man with respect to a given quality or group of qualities through comparing him directly with other men possessing these qualities in varying degrees. It is a living scale, and was the outgrowth of a method of rating salesmen which formed part of a five-year study of salesmanship which Dr. Scott was conducting when the United States entered the war. In its military application, each officer was rated by his immediate superior for five separate groups of qualities: physical qualities, intelligence, leadership, personal qualities, general value to service, each of these being subdivided and defined. A separate scale for each group was constructed in terms of individual officers of the rank for which the officer was being considered; *i.e.*, scales for rating lieutenants were made up of captains; for rating captains, of majors. Thus, for the group of physical qualities impressing men, each rating officer made a

[1] *Trade Specifications and Index, U. S. Army* (1918), War Department Document 774.

[2] *Personnel System U. S. Army,* Vol. I, Chapter 43; Vol. II, Chapter 12.

preliminary list of from twelve to twenty-five officers of his own rank known to him, and from this list selected officers of the best and worst physical presence to represent the two ends of the scale. He then selected an officer midway between the two in physical impressiveness, and two others, one between the middle and the highest and one between the middle and the lowest, so that the scale read: Brown, highest; Green, high; Black, middle; White, low; Gray, lowest. A similar living scale was made for each of the four other groups of qualities, taking care not always to use the same men as standards. Each officer to be rated was then estimated by a direct man-to-man comparison with the officers making up the scales, rating all those to be considered by one scale before going on to the next. Each place on a scale had a numerical value, the highest 15, the lowest 3; but no numerical estimate was made until after a man had been directly rated for all five groups of qualities. Then the sum of the points gave his total rating. The actual measurements were always in terms of human beings, never in terms of points. It was estimated that after a little practice, the making of a scale took about twenty minutes, the rating of an officer about sixty seconds. Every officer was rerated at the end of three months; and all ratings were reviewed by the immediate superior of the rating officer. After the armistice a careful study was made by the Committee of the operation of the scale, and it was recommended that three independent ratings for each group of qualities be made for each officer, his final rating to be the average of the three. During the war the rating scale was accepted by army officers with a surprising degree of approval, and was surprisingly accurate in its results, keeping the advantages of judgments in personal terms and at the same time doing away with individual bias and favoritism.

This rating scale was later adapted by the firm of personnel consultants, of which Dr. Scott was the head, to the rating of industrial and commercial executives. With a proper selection of quality-groups to be rated, it might be advantageously applied to the promotion of many kinds of professional workers; and its early trial may be hoped for

in the fields of teaching, the social services, government service, and, in fact, wherever there are recognized grades of service. It has possibilities for the grading of students as well as of teachers. The great merits of the scale are that it recognizes the psychological truth that we judge people in terms of people and not in terms of abstract qualities; that it is simple and takes little time; that it is considered fair by both raters and rated. In its non-military applications it may be questioned whether there might not be ratings by co-workers as well as superiors, and perhaps even by subordinates. There might at least be some system of review by the last two groups.

Another war-time contribution to the problem of selecting and promoting professional workers is to be found in the general intelligence tests prepared by the psychologists making up the Psychological Division of the Surgeon General's Office under the direction of Dr. Robert M. Yerkes and given to about a million and a half soldiers in the camps.[1] While their greatest military value lay in the detection and weeding out of men of subnormal intelligence, they also revealed substantial correlations between superior general intelligence and military efficiency. Among officers the engineers and other technical services showed the highest averages. In some camps more than 20 per cent of the enlisted men reached the A and B ratings which toward the end of the war were used in selecting men for commissions. The great value of these general intelligence lies in their indication of grades of mental ability irrespective of education. They are likely to come into general use as a means of sifting out from large groups those with capacity for further education, special training, or special employment. They can be easily and quickly given to such groups and automatically scored. The army tests for literates have been used experimentally since the close of the war by a number of higher institutions, notably by Columbia University, as checks upon entrance examinations or as substitutes for them; and may assist in determining both the limits and the possibilities of education for different levels

[1] See *Personnel System of the U. S. Army*, Vol. II, Chapter 10; C. E. Yoakum and R. M. Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests* (1920).

of intelligence. They apparently always detect the unfit. But they do not reveal special aptitudes nor familiarity with special subject-matters and techniques.

For this, special intelligence tests must be provided, which are far less fully developed and far more difficult to devise, although the educational, vocational, and employment psychologists are actively at work upon them. Tests of vocational *aptitude* as a basis for vocational guidance and tests of vocational *competence* on the basis of professed training or experience, need to be carefully distinguished. The Committee on Classification of Personnel made use of a remarkable series of performance tests for a number of the skilled trades,[1] which revealed that of soldiers professing trade competence, 30 per cent were novices or wholly inexperienced in the trade; 40 per cent were apprentices or beginners; 24 per cent were journeymen, and only 6 per cent were experts. Adequate tests for professional workers are naturally more difficult to work out and have not been seriously attempted except in the traditional forms of examinations and satisfactory working experience. Dr. Link describes tests successfully applied to industrial and clerical workers of various kinds, and says: "Other types of work have already been dealt with by other psychologists, and as time goes on, this range will undoubtedly increase very greatly." But he is doubtful of their applicability at present to the choice of "men for higher positions, executives, planners, organizers—the so-called *big men*. Can tests be applied which will make it possible to discover men of large caliber and large capabilities? . . . This question must frankly be answered in the negative. The psychological method is at the present stage of its development unable to select men who possess the exceptional qualities required by the exceptional position."[2] Nevertheless, the whole matter of selecting, training, and promoting professional workers is still so largely haphazard or conventional that this line of investigation needs to be carefully and patiently followed. The new Inter-Professional Conference or some

[1] *Personnel System of the U. S. Army*, Vol. I, Chapters 28-30; Vol. II, Chapter 6.

[2] *Employment Psychology*, pp. 188, 189.

other body representing the professions could do nothing more useful than to establish a bureau under expert direction for the study of tests for the several professions and the preparation of adequate specifications, somewhat along the lines of the research bureaus for the study of salesmanship maintained under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Meanwhile, immediate and practical improvement in the professions and in professional education appears to be coming through the provision of specifications rather than through the provision of psychological tests. The industries are coöperating with professional associations in drawing up specifications of the kinds of expert workers they require, to be submitted to the colleges and professional schools. Federal, state, and city governments are reclassifying their civil services and furnishing specifications for each position and grade. The general readjustment of salaries to meet the shrinkage of the dollar is furthering the process, since the establishment of higher salary schedules leads to a reformulation of the duties to be performed at each salary level. Organized employment or personnel departments are likewise assisting.

At the annual meeting of the Technology Clubs Associated in March, 1920, a conference was held between representatives of the industries and representatives of the colleges and professional schools, at which the present shortage of trained executive and technical experts was discussed; and it was agreed that the industries should submit specifications of the duties and qualifications of professional workers needed in their several fields, and the American Council on Education should circulate these specifications among the colleges to assist in bridging the gap between preparation and practice. Many of the major industrial groups were represented, and a plan was worked out by means of which a central industrial council is to be established, made up of delegates from committees on educational problems in each industry. This industrial council is to name half the members of a small joint council, the other members representing the American Council on Education, which is to review the specifications prepared by the

various industries and submit them to the colleges for consideration in educational terms. It was held that this plan uses the industrial and educational groups in ways in which they are respectively expert, and leaves educational institutions free to meet the requirements of industry by any methods which they consider educationally sound. It suggests a way out of the long-standing conflict between liberal and vocational education.

At the conference, specifications were presented by the paper, rubber, and shoe industries, including suggestions for the use of the student's three undergraduate summer vacations in acquiring a general familiarity with "plant" or "shop" conditions and practices. Other industries undertook to prepare specifications. Some three hundred firms are already coöperating, and have pledged specified sums for three years to carry out a continuous survey of industrial needs and educational facilities. While the chief aim of the project is the procurement of technically trained men, the growing importance of women in industrial management has not been wholly forgotten; and their interests will be represented on the joint industrial and educational committee through the director of the American Council on Education who is also a member of the Council's committee on the training of women for professional service. The wide educational distribution of these industrial specifications is bound to have far-reaching consequences for both men and women professional workers as well as for educational institutions and the industries. It may even lead to the drafting of specifications for members of college faculties.[1]

The increasing number and variety of professional workers in government services renders highly significant the general movement toward a reorganization and reclassification of these services and the preparation of adequate specifications for the positions falling under them. Since the war, Great Britain and Canada have reclassified their civil services; and an expert commission has recently submitted to the Congress of the United States a proposed re-

[1] See Hollis Godfrey. *Cooperation between Industry and the Colleges, Educational Review,* June, 1920.

classification of the federal civil service in Washington, now more or less obsolete and chaotic.[1] In 1917 standard specifications were issued covering the civil service of the City of New York. In 1918 similar specifications were prepared for the civil service of the State of Massachusetts. In 1919, the Reconstruction Commission appointed by the Governor of the State of New York presented a report on retrenchment and reorganization in the state government. Unfortunately, these various proposals have not yet become law. But Ohio, Illinois, Nebraska, and Idaho have put into effect drastic reorganizations of their state services; and other states are considering similar action. Many of the examination announcements of the United States Civil Service Commission are in effect professional specifications; and the same thing is true to some degree of state and municipal announcements. There is a large opportunity to make these examinations genuine instead of formal tests for both appointment and promotion, utilizing the best modern employing methods. The federal Report on Reclassification, just referred to, recommends that the United States Civil Service Commission be made in the full sense a centralized personnel agency for the government, working through personnel committees in the several departments and services and charged with continuous study of personnel needs, with the devising of efficiency measurements for promotions, and with the establishment of systems of training workers in government service and representative advisory councils of civil service employees.

The New York City "Standard Specifications for Personal Service" are classified under sixteen "services." Each service is divided into "groups" and each group into "grades" with specified advancements in salary within each grade and promotion from one grade to the next higher. The Massachusetts state specifications, which are unpublished, are similarly classified under nine "services" with subordinate groups and grades. Institutional positions in

[1] *Report of the Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries in the Washington Federal Service.* Submitting a Classification of Positions on the Basis of Duties and Qualifications, and Schedules of Compensation for the Respective Classes, March, 1920.

both are arranged separately. The 1,762 specifications of the federal Reclassification Report are arranged under 44 services and 376 series. Each specification describes a "class" of workers performing closely similar duties. Ascending classes form a series. They are not numbered but are given distinguishing titles. In the "services involving clerical, office, or commercial work," titles may be illustrated as follows: under clerk, junior clerk, senior clerk, principal clerk, head clerk, and chief clerk. In the "services involving scientific, technical, professional, or subsidiary work," the titles are taken from the field of higher education, as junior economist, assistant economist, associate economist, economist, senior economist. Every specification includes a statement of the range of compensation and of the principal lines of promotion.

All three classifications use the term "professional" in a narrower sense than that employed in this book, although they vary in the occupations included under it. The New York City "Professional Service" includes the accountant group with four grades; the architect group with six grades; the bacteriologist group with four grades; the chaplain group with one grade; the chemist and physicist group with five grades; the dentist group with three grades; the engineer group with six grades; the forester group with one grade; the lawyer group with four grades; the nurse group with five grades; the pathologist group with four grades; the pharmacist group with three grades; the physician group with six grades; the veterinarian group with two grades. The Massachusetts "Professional Service" includes the biologist group with one grade; the engineering group with six grades; the fish and bird culturist group with one grade; the forester group with two grades; the lawyer group with one grade; the nurse group with two grades; the ornithologist group with one grade; the physician group with three grades; the psychologist group with two grades; the research laboratory group with four grades; the statistician group with one grade; the instructor of the blind group with one grade; the librarian group with three grades; the associate in education group with three grades; the normal school instructor group with five grades. The

proposed Federal Classification includes actuarial service, agricultural promotion and extension service, architectural service, arts service, biological science service, chaplain service, community and recreation service, economic and political science service, educational service, engineering service, law and examiner service, library service, medical science service, nursing service, patent service, physical science service, social science service, statistical service, and translating service.

Other workers of professional character, in our use of the term, such as administrators and supervisors, financial and commercial experts, social workers, probation officers, civil service examiners, personnel officers, editors and information workers, are grouped under such headings as "administrative and supervisory service," "investigational and inspectional service," "fiscal and accounting service," "specialized business service," "department publications and information service," "personnel service."

The following specifications illustrate those proposed in 1918 for the Massachusetts service and in 1920 for the Washington federal service.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Professional and Scientific Service

LIBRARIAN GROUP

Grade 1

TITLE OF POSITION:

JUNIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Duties:

To perform general reference and research work under assignment.

To classify library material, and index and catalogue books and publications.

To perform routine library duties as assigned.

To be responsible for a department library, including

the organization of the library, classification of material, and general reference work for the department.

To perform such other related, incidental, or emergency duty as may be assigned.

Qualifications:

A certificate of graduation from a library school, or an equivalent educational training, and, in addition, not less than one year of experience in library work affording appropriate training and experience in the duties to be performed.

Compensation:

Range of annual salary: $840-$1,200.

Standard salary rates: $900, $960, $1,020, $1,080, $1,140, $1,200.

Grade II

TITLE OF POSITION:
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Duties:

To be responsible for a special field of library work requiring a thorough technical knowledge of the subject.

To perform independently general library duties requiring a high degree of skill and training.

To supervise routine work performed by junior assistant librarians.

Qualifications:

Not less than three years' experience in Grade I, or if appointed otherwise than by promotion, practical experience in a definite field of library work that would afford appropriate training and experience for the particular duties of the position to be filled.

Compensation:

Range of annual salary: $1,200-$1,980.

Standard salary rates: $1,200, $1,320, $1,440, $1,560, $1,680, $1,800, $1,980.

Grade III

TITLES OF POSITIONS:

LIBRARIAN (Director of Field Work).
LIBRARIAN (Director of Work with Aliens).

Duties:

LIBRARIAN (Director of Field Work):

To supervise library organizers and cataloguers in the free public libraries of the Commonwealth.

To plan and direct educational and publicity work for new libraries and to confer with library trustees on matters of library policy.

To make surveys of library conditions, and suggest programs to trustees for efficient procedure.

To advise in regard to the organization of new and the reorganization of old libraries.

To advise with trustees and building committees concerning library buildings and plans.

To address library clubs and civic and educational bodies and to lecture at library schools.

LIBRARIAN (Director of Work with Aliens):

To investigate facilities for educational work with foreigners in the libraries of the Commonwealth.

To confer and advise with librarians and trustees of libraries in regard to library facilities for aliens.

To stimulate interest in libraries among foreign societies and individuals, and to select, purchase, and supervise the distribution of all books in foreign languages for the traveling libraries of the Free Public Library Commission.

To address clubs and meetings for the purpose of creating interest in the library work with aliens.

Qualifications:

LIBRARIAN (Director of Field Work):

Not less than three years of experience as secretary, Free Public Library Commission, or at least six years of experience in library organization and administration.

LIBRARIAN (Director of Work with Aliens):

Not less than six years of experience in library work, or educational work involving some library experience, at least four years of which shall have been in work with the foreign-speaking alien population.

Compensation:

Range of annual salary: $2,500-$3,600.

Standard salary rates: $2,580, $2,820, $3,060, $3,300, $3,600.

UNITED STATES: WASHINGTON CIVIL SERVICE

Services Involving Scientific, Technical, Professional or Subsidiary Work

41. Physical Science Service

GEOLOGY

TITLE OF CLASS:

AID IN GEOLOGY

Specifications of Class

Duties:

To perform under immediate supervision, minor routine work in geology; and to perform related work as required.

Examples: Preparing fossils and other specimens for study; recording and arranging geologic notes; acting as rodman in a geologic field party.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation from high school.

Principal Lines of Promotion

To: Junior Geologist.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $1,200, $1,320, $1,440, $1,560, $1,680, $1,800.

TITLE OF CLASS:

JUNIOR GEOLOGIST

Specifications of Class

Duties:

To perform, under immediate supervision, subordinate work in geology; and to perform related work as required.

Examples: Carrying on or assisting in simple geologic mappings; making and recording geologic observations bearing on specific problems; making preliminary studies of mineral prospects; conducting plane-table work; arranging, labeling, and studying specimens of rocks, fossils, and ores; and in other ways aiding the chief in the preparation of reports.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing, with major work in geology; additional training in one or more of the following lines: mineralogy, petrography, geophysics, paleontology, physiography, mineral geography, glaciology, stratigraphy, structural geology, economic geology of the metalliferous minerals, economic geology of the fuels—coal, oil, or gas, or of other nonmetalliferous minerals; ability to read scientific French, or German, or an equivalent modern language, and to write clear and concise English.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Aid in Geology.

To: Assistant Geologist.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $1,800, $1,920, $2,040, $2,160.

TITLE OF CLASS:

ASSISTANT GEOLOGIST

Specifications of Class

Duties:

Under specific administrative and technical direction, to perform individually, or to direct with assistants, general

geologic and related work requiring proven ability; or to have charge of minor subdivisions of such work.

Examples: Mapping, geologically, definite portions of an area; studying and describing less important mineral deposits; tracing and mapping important geologic contacts or horizons; preparing reports under immediate supervision, but with some manifestation of scientific originality in recognizing problems and in devising methods for their solution; having charge of a small field party or a subdivision thereof.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing, with major work in geology; additional training equivalent to that represented by not less than two years' professional experience in geology or by at least two years' graduate work; ability to read scientific French, or German, or an equivalent foreign language, and to prepare, in clear and concise English, manuscripts dealing with work in geology.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Junior Geologist.
To: Associate Geologist.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $2,400, $2,520, $2,640, $2,760, $2,880, $3,000.

TITLE OF CLASS:

ASSOCIATE GEOLOGIST

Specifications of Class

Duties:

Under general administrative and technical direction, to perform individually, or to direct with assistants, specialized work in geology requiring experience and proven ability; to exercise independent judgment and to assume responsibilities in the solution of geologic problems and in

the preparation of reports; to be in responsible charge of an intermediate subdivision in an organization doing geologic work; and to perform related work as required.

Examples: Having charge of a geologic field party or small group of parties, or of a specific geologic investigation, or of an intermediate subdivision in an organization dealing with geologic problems; preparing reports upon a geologic field, or upon a particular mineral resource or group of resources.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing, with major work in geology; additional training equivalent to that represented either (1) by not less than five years' professional experience in work of the grade required of an Assistant Geologist, or (2) by not less than three years' graduate work; ability to read scientific French or German, or an equivalent foreign language, and to prepare, in clear and concise English, manuscripts embodying the results of investigations in geology.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Assistant Geologist.
To: Geologist.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $3,240, $3,360, $3,480, $3,600, $3,720, $3,840.

TITLE OF CLASS:
GEOLOGIST

Specifications of Class

Duties:

To perform, under general administrative direction, one or more of the following functions: (1) To carry on individually or with associates or through subordinates, highly specialized investigations in geology; (2) to plan and execute major lines of work in geology; (3) to act in a consulting or advisory capacity on problems in

geology; or (4) to have responsible charge of, and to initiate or execute policies for, a major administrative unit dealing with geologic problems; and to perform other related work.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing, with major work in geology; additional training equivalent to that represented either (1) by not less than eight years' professional experience or (2) by not less than three years' graduate work in geology and at least five years' professional experience, of which experience, in either case, not less than three years shall have been in work of the grade required of an Associate Geologist; proven ability to direct or to perform specialized work in geology; ability to read scientific French or German, or an equivalent foreign language, and to prepare, in clear and concise English, manuscripts embodying the results of investigations in geology.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Associate Geologist.
To: Senior Geologist; Director, Geological Survey.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $4,140, $4,320, $4,500, $4,680, $4,860, $5,040.

TITLE OF CLASS:

SENIOR GEOLOGIST

Specifications of Class

Duties:

To perform one or more of the following functions: (1) To perform or direct the most difficult and comprehensive advanced work in geology; (2) to act as consulting specialist in the field of geology; or (3) to discharge major administrative duties involving the determination of broad lines of policy under the limitations

imposed by existing laws, regulations, or other fixed requirements; and to perform other related work.

Qualifications:

Training equavalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing, with major work in geology; additional training equivalent to that represented either (1) by at least twelve years' professional experience, or (2) by not less than three years' graduate work in geology and at least eight years' professional experience, of which experience, in either case, not less than four years shall have been in work of the grade required of a Geologist; large capacity and proven ability to perform and direct advanced work in geology.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Geologist.
To: Director, Geological Survey.

Compensation for Class

* * *

(Recommended by Civil Service Commission to Congress.)

TITLE OF CLASS:

DIRECTOR, GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Specifications of Class

Duties:

Under the general direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to have administrative charge of all the activities of the Geological Survey; to be responsible for its expenditures and the efficiency of its employees; to initiate and direct research in pure and applied geology and related subjects; to consider and take action on questions concerning geology referred by the Secretary; and to perform other related work.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing,

with major work in science, and by three years' graduate work in geology; extended experience in the application of scientific methods of research to the solution of problems in geology and related subjects; not less than five years' responsible administrative experience; ability to determine productive lines of research relating to geology, and to organize and direct staffs of investigators and regulatory workers.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Senior Geologist; Geologist.

Compensation for Class

* * *

(Recommended by Civil Service Commission to Congress.)

The shrinkage of the dollar to a purchasing value of about forty-three cents at this writing has borne heavily upon professional workers, who are commonly in receipt of fixed salaries or relatively fixed incomes, barely adequate even with a normal dollar; and who have seen them cut in half by the present cost of living. The acuteness of the situation, combined with the enlarged demand for professional workers at more ample salaries in industry and commerce, has been forcing salaries upward in the independent professions, although they have not yet regained their former value nor caught up with present price levels. It is important not to be dazzled by the mere number of dollars in new salary scales, but to ask how far they are merely just restorations of old salaries; how far, genuine increases. Perhaps the most valuable results of the widespread salary agitation lie in the reconsideration which it has brought about of the principles which should underlie the building of professional salary schedules, and the deepened consciousness among professional workers that they should be fully informed of these principles and even have a share in determining them. If the great college and university "drives" for endowment bring about published salary schedules and published statements of the grounds and

methods of promotion, they will do more for the professional spirit and morale of college teachers than even the raising of wretchedly inadequate salaries to something more nearly approaching a professional "wage of decency and comfort." The salary movement, in fact, is forcing in every profession the formal or informal drafting of specifications of duties and qualifications, lines of promotion, and salary ranges; and there are new obligations on the side of the worker as well as on the side of the employer and prospects of better mutual understanding and good will.

Price levels are still so unsettled, and salaries are still so actively in process of readjustment that it is hardly safe to quote figures which are likely to become obsolete by the time they are in print. The experience of the past six years has shown the necessity of periodic revisions of salary schedules, since, particularly in teaching and in government service, salaries once determined tend to persist without change for ten or even twenty years. Index numbers of the cost of living afford a convenient scale by means of which to make needed readjustments. The rate for suitable room and board furnishes a rough practical measure. The American Association for Labor Legislation has adopted an elastic system, based on current index numbers, at the suggestion of Professor Irving Fisher.[1]

Since the close of the war, a number of professional organizations, in addition to the colleges, have been studying existing salaries and suggesting or adopting higher and more standardized schedules. Among them may be mentioned the Congressional Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries, which has studied current rates of compensation in parallel non-governmental employments, and which asked the Bureau of Labor Statistics to prepare minimum "health and decency" budgets for a single man, a single woman, and a family of five in clerical service in Washington;[2] the National Education Association;[3] and chambers of Commerce

[1] *Shifting Wages with the Cost of Living. Red Cross Magazine.* January, 1920.

[2] *Report* (March, 1920) and *Monthly Labor Review.* December, 1919, January, 1920.

[3] E. S. Evenden. *Teachers' Salaries and Salary Schedules.* October, 1919.

through the American City Bureau;[1] the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work;[2] the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies;[3] the Engineering Council;[4] the Young Women's[5] Christian Associations; the Bureau of Vocational Information.[6] It is interesting to compare the minimum budget for a woman government clerk, estimated at $1,151.15 on the basis of prices prevailing in Washington in September, 1919, with the minimum budgets for teachers at the levels of "existence," "thrift," and "culture" or improvement, prepared by the Massachusetts Teachers' Federation and standing at $1,382, $1,612, and $1,812 respectively.[7] The case-work study recommends a minimum salary of $1,200 for a case-worker with one year of professional training. Dr. Evenden recommends a minimum of $1,200 with six annual increments of $100 for a teacher with two years of normal training; of $1,400 for a teacher with an A. B. degree; $1,600 for a teacher with an A. M. degree; and $2,000 for a teacher with a Ph.D. degree, the last three with ten annual increments of $100, making the maximum salaries $1,800, $2,400, $2,600, and $3,000 respectively. The American Federation of Teachers recommends a minimum teachers' salary of $2,000. Leland Stanford Junior University established the following salary schedule in November, 1919, representing advances of from 18 to 50 per cent: Instructors, $1,800-$2,400; assistant professors, $2,500-$3,000; associate professors, $3,250-$4,000; professors, $4,500-$7,500.

On the basis of these and other figures, tentative and shifting as they are, it is perhaps not misleading to suggest the following tentative salary schedule, to be used as a basis

[1] *Know and Help Your Schools* (1920).

[2] *Expenditures and Salaries of Case Workers. The Family.* March, April, 1920.

[3] *Positions in Social Work in Minneapolis.* 1920.

[4] *Report of Committee on Classification and Compensation of Engineers.* December, 1919.

[5] *Report on Salaries and Living of Employed Officers.* April, 1920. (Unpublished.) *Vocations for Business and Professional Women.* May, 1919.

[6] *Bulletins on Women in Chemistry, Statistics, Law, and Department Stores* (1920-1921).

[7] *School Life.* U. S. Bureau of Education. January 15, 1920.

of comparison, for the various grades of professional worker given on page 34.

1. Learner in service ..... $1,200-$1,400
2. Service worker under supervision.... $1,500-$2,000
3. Supervisor or instructor ..... $2,000-$3,000
4. Non-administrative technical expert.. $2,500-$3,500 up
5. Administrative expert ..... $3,500 up

CHAPTER IV

THE "LEARNED PROFESSIONS": MEDICINE, LAW, THE MINISTRY

MEDICINE, law, and divinity, the three "learned professions," come to us from the medieval universities, which were essentially professional schools—in their earlier form guilds of teachers and scholars. They have always preserved their strong group spirit and emphasis upon special training of an intellectual character, and in these respects have served as models for the newer professions.

Their definite organization and strong sense of prestige have tended to make the learned professions conservative and undemocratic, but at the same time have given them unusual capacity for effective group action, strikingly illustrated during the war, when there was a country-wide registration of doctors to determine resources for both overseas and home service and a mobilization of lawyers for service on draft-boards, in connection with war-risk insurance, and for other legal work. The medical and legal professions have undoubtedly gained a new sense of responsibility for government and community programs, a new power of coöperating with other professions, a new realization of the distribution and services of their members.[1] The great campaign for public health, well begun before the war, has received an incalculable impetus. The modern idea of "group medicine" [2] as over against the old idea of "private practice" has notably advanced. There are even glimmerings of "group law."

In all these enterprises and tendencies professional women

[1] It is estimated that before the war there was one doctor to about 850 persons in the United States; one to about 2,000 persons in Europe. The ratio of lawyers was one to about 700 persons as against one to 1,100 in Great Britain.

[2] See Richard C. Cabot. *Training and Rewards of the Physician* (1918), Chapter 11.

have shared and are sharing, although they still have to meet certain barriers to admission to professional schools and professional associations. In spite of the shortage of physicians, women doctors were employed by the government during the war only as "contract surgeons." More difficult to overcome than these disappearing formal limitations, has been the widespread feeling among physicians and lawyers that theirs are men's professions, and that women, no matter how well trained, are outsiders and intruders. Some of the leaders in each profession have not held this view; the war has done something to shake it; socialized medicine and law and the new political status of women are all helping to do away with it.

Nevertheless, this attitude on the part of professional men has played its part in deterring women from entering medicine and law. The length and cost of training and the difficulty of establishing an independent practice have been other influences. In the early days of the movements for higher education and equal suffrage, pioneer women of a high type studied both law and medicine. The first woman doctor, Elizabeth Blackwell, received her medical degree as long ago as 1848. But with the realization of the practical obstacles and with the development of other fields of work for women, notably social service, there was a falling off in the relative numbers of women doctors and lawyers. By 1910, although the number of medical schools open to women had increased, the relative number of women students had diminished. In the ministry, the facts that only certain Protestant churches ordain women, and that there is little public knowledge of it as a profession for women, have limited numbers. Once in the ministry, however, women have probably had to face less opposition than in the other learned professions.

The past ten years have been an era of marked advance in American medicine. The Carnegie Report on Medical Education in 1910 and the educational activities of the American Medical Association have enormously improved the standards of medical schools; the Rockefeller endowments have fostered medical research; federal and state gover-

ments and great private organizations have developed large public health programs; universities have established schools and courses in public health. Since 1916 the American Medical Association has required a full high-school course and at least two years of college work including pre-professional courses in science of all medical schools receiving its approval. Eighty-one out of a total of ninety schools meet this requirement, forty of them reaching it within the past four years. Sixty schools now admit women, including practically all the leading institutions. The schools of Johns Hopkins University and Cornell University have always admitted them. The Harvard Medical School, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University, and the medical school of Washington University in Saint Louis were opened to them in 1918. A number of the best schools now require a year of interneship of all graduates. This is an essential part of modern medical education from which women have in the past too frequently been shut out.

The changes in the spirit, objects, and standards of medicine within the decade are drawing into the profession a larger number of women, and there is evidence of a rapidly increasing interest in it on the part of the present generation of women college students. The 1910 census reported 9,015 women doctors, 6 per cent of the membership of the profession. The Census of Women Physicians compiled in 1918 by the Medical Women's National Association gives the names of some six thousand doctors by states, showing the medical schools of which they are graduates, their membership in medical societies, and whether they are in active practice. It likewise contains lists of medical women who are laboratory experts, roentgenologists, and anæsthetists. The Biennial Survey of Education for 1917-1918 of the U. S. Bureau of Education shows for the latter year a total of 13,630 medical students, both men and women. Of these, 93.3 per cent were enrolled in the higher standard medical schools. In 1904 out of a total of 28,142 medical students, only 6.2 per cent were so enrolled. The figures speak volumes for the improvement in the quality of the medical profession and the disappearance of the appalling oversupply of poorly equipped medi-

cal practitioners. There should be organized efforts to increase medical scholarships and fellowships for women college students of high capacity and interest in medicine as a career.

The medical profession to-day offers widening and increasingly varied opportunities for women, especially in connection with promotion of the health of children, of girls and women in industry, of the community, and of the home. There is crying need of them in work with delinquents. The International Conference of Women Physicians held in New York in the autumn of 1919 through the efforts of the National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations, focused attention upon the part to be played by medical women in the great movements for preventive medicine, public health, social and mental hygiene. The conference drew up a comprehensive program for social health.[1] While there is undoubtedly a shrinkage in the opportunities for the older type of "private practice," the ramifications of health activity and health interest are creating all sorts of new demands for physicians of modern training and modern spirit.[2]

Medical women find salaried positions in connection with (1) educational institutions; (2) hospitals and other institutions for dependents and delinquents; (3) public departments or boards; (4) industrial and commercial firms; (5) health and social organizations; (6) research and diagnostic laboratories; (7) health publicity. In these fields their work may be administrative or supervisory, instructional, inspectional, or laboratory; and they may also engage in a certain amount of actual treatment of cases.

Colleges and schools have long had resident physicians, who have sometimes been also professors of physiology and hygiene. With the growth of more constructive ideas of health education, women physicians are directors of college departments of health or in charge of departments of physical education, sometimes taking special training in order to direct this work. At least one doctor in such de-

[1] *Survey.* November 15, 1919.

[2] See Richard C. Cabot. *Training and Rewards of the Physician* (1918).

partments should be a specialist in mental hygiene. With one or two brilliant exceptions, women instructors in medical schools have been rare, except in schools exclusively for women. But they are slowly increasing. A distinguished woman specialist in industrial diseases has recently received an appointment to the faculty of the Harvard Medical School. Women not infrequently serve as school doctors or medical inspectors in city school systems.

Other types of institution, hospitals and mental hospitals, prisons, reformatories, schools for defectives, frequently have resident physicians. In some states, every public mental hospital must have a woman on its medical staff. Institutions for delinquents are coming to recognize the importance of psychiatrists and psychologists. A few women physicians are superintendents of institutions for women and children. In state or city departments of health medical women have served for the most part as assistants, especially in laboratory positions. Many are institutional bacteriologists and pathologists. But a woman doctor has been health officer of Portland, Oregon, and another, a college graduate, holds that position in Poughkeepsie, New York. Women doctors are being appointed directors of the bureaus of child hygiene which are being created in states and cities throughout the country. Dr. S. Josephine Baker has long held this important position in New York City. They have played a leading part in the admirable studies of infant mortality and child health made by the federal Children's Bureau, and have been employed in a few other federal services.

Industrial and commercial medicine are new fields; but they are developing with great rapidity, and passing from their earlier stages of routine examination and treatment to constructive health activities for employees. Women physicians have large opportunities for health education with factory women, saleswomen in department stores, clerks in great insurance and financial corporations, operators in telephone companies. The most effective relations among doctors, nurses, and social workers in these fields are still to be worked out. Some of the insurance companies employ women medical examiners for women applicants; and at

least one has gone into extensive health work for its policy holders throughout the country.

Health and social organizations of many kinds are employing women doctors. Anti-tuberculosis work has long been a meeting-ground of doctor, nurse, and social worker. The new fields of social hygiene and mental hygiene call imperatively for the intimate coöperation of doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers, civic workers, industrial relations workers. The American Social Hygiene Association, the Bureau of Social Hygiene of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Social Morality Committee of the War Work Council of the Young Women's Christian Associations, all contributed to the carrying out of the government's great program for checking venereal disease in the army and launching a country-wide campaign of sex education and progressive sex legislation. These and other organizations are continuing the movement in coöperation with the United States Public Health Service and state and city health authorities. Even more important, as more comprehensive, is the mental hygiene movement, directed by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and its coöperating state societies. Women psychiatrists are needed in many fields, especially in protective and corrective work with women and girls, in education, and in industry. Hitherto their opportunities have been chiefly in connection with mental hospitals. But more general recognition of the prevalence of unstable and psychopathic persons in the community and of the value of preventive work with children and young people is greatly enlarging these opportunities and calling for a new type of training and experience. Some women psychiatrists have already established themselves as independent practitioners and consultants.

In laboratories, public or private, women doctors are scientific workers rather than exclusively medical workers. Many laboratory workers are not doctors; and there is considerable difference of opinion as to the necessity or even desirability of a medical degree. It is probably the part of wisdom at present for a laboratory worker to acquire this degree to insure the respect and coöperation of the doctors with whom she works, just as it is for a psychologist.

The assistant director of the great research laboratories of the New York City Department of Health is a woman.

The field of health publicity and popular education in health matters has been greatly enlarged through the various health campaigns of the war. Women doctors have been employed as field lecturers; they have prepared health literature for popular distribution; they have organized extension courses in health; they have directed "health drives." This work is usually supplementary to other employment or of a temporary character. It calls for women of experience and reputation.

Women have studied and practiced dentistry for many years; but their number has not increased. The 1910 census reported 1,254 women dentists, three per cent of the profession. In 1916 only twenty-one women were graduated from forty-eight schools of dentistry. There are new tendencies in dentistry, however, which may lead to a greater interest in it on the part of women. Recognition of the primary importance to health of oral medicine and surgery is requiring of the dentist medical as well as dental training. The establishment of dental clinics and dental work in schools indicates the place which preventive work in this field is assuming. Dental education is following medical education in raising standards.

Medicine to-day should attract young women of the highest type of intelligence, character, and general education. The minimum requirement of two years of college work is not enough for eventual leadership and for the cultural satisfactions and contacts needed in a life of strenuous professional endeavor. The committee on pre-medical college work of the Council on Medical Education in its report of February, 1918, calls for at least sixty semester hours of college study. Courses required are chemistry, physics, biology, English composition and literature, and twelve hours of non-science subjects; courses strongly urged are French or German, psychology, advanced mathematics, advanced botany or zoölogy, and additional courses in chemistry; courses suggested include economics, sociology, history, political science, logic, mathematics, Latin, Greek, and drawing. With the new social and psychological responsi-

bilities of medicine, courses in psychology, economics, and sociology, and attention to the arts and to the art of living are essential.

Women students should choose a medical school requiring a year of interneship, and should look forward to some graduate work. If they prefer a school for women only, such as the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, they should plan for a year soon after at a university medical school. Women doctors going into public health work are also taking graduate courses leading to the degree of doctor of public health. Medical training is long and exacting, and women entering upon it should have robust health, nervous stability, tenacity of purpose, and natural sagacity with regard to human beings and human affairs. For such women medicine is a profession of assured standing and usefulness, and it is rich in intellectual and human satisfactions.[1]

Women doctors are found increasingly in salaried positions; but there are genuine social opportunities and valuable supplementary training in general practice, especially in the small town or country neighborhood or the crowded quarters of a great city. A woman beginning independent practice will do well to have enough money to carry herself for a year while she is establishing herself in a community. Dr. Cabot says: "Few doctors have ever grown rich from their medical fees, and if I read the signs of the times rightly the number of doctors with incomes above $5,000 a year is going to be smaller in the future than in the past." [1]

Vocations for Business and Professional Women, says that medical women as a group are earning more than women in other professions. It gives the following salary ranges: doctors in educational institutions, about $1,800 and maintenance; in state institutions, from $1,600 to $2,600 and maintenance; in social agencies beginning at $1,800 or $2,000; in research laboratories from $900 to $3,000. Eight doctors and one dentist filling our schedules report salaries ranging from $1,200 and maintenance (easily equivalent to

[1] Cabot. *Training and Rewards of the Physician.* Chapter XII, pp. 40-51, 133-136.

$500 in these days) to $5,100, with a median salary of $2,600. Two of these women are professors and deans, one in a medical school, one in a school of oral hygiene; one is instructor in psychiatry in a university medical school; one is a school medical inspector; two are resident physicians in mental hospitals; one is superintendent of a reformatory for women; one is director of a city bureau of child hygiene; two are special investigators in the federal Department of Labor in child hygiene and in industrial poisoning; one is physician and mental examiner in a girls' protective association. Five of these women are college graduates; two are doctors of public health as well as doctors of medicine. Among them are several of the best known women doctors in the country.

Their comments are worth noting. The investigator of industrial diseases, an authority in her field, says: "I think that a woman with an interest in new problems and in the protection of working people would find work such as this very satisfying. She would need a medical degree . . . and some experience among . . . working people, organized and unorganized. . . . Each industry I take up must be mastered first in all essential details. All foreign literature on the subject must be studied."

The school medical inspector says: "After being a teacher in common schools, study medicine, after which take the course leading to Doctor of Public Health."

The physician with a girls' protective association says: "It is desirable to have actual clinical experience with delinquents rather than to depend on abstract laboratory training."

A pathologist in a state mental hospital says: "There are good openings for women physicians in pathological work, and it is a specialty for which they are well fitted. . . . When there is a chance for advancement, men, even young ones, are always chosen, as the plan is to fit the most promising ones for the more responsible positions in the state hospital service. . . . Men take a position as pathologist only as a beginning. . . . The more mature men are given the position of clinical director and pathologist, which demands more equipment, carries more authority, and naturally a

higher salary. Women are not eligible for clinical director."

Law is a profession much less commonly entered by women than is medicine. Its standards and methods of training are far less well established, and it has been less affected by the modern social spirit. It may be said to be the most conservative of all professions. Nevertheless, there are signs that it is entering upon a period of reorganization, standardization, and socialization such as that through which medicine has already passed. It suffers from being dominated by the spirit of precedent rather than by the spirit of scientific inquiry and through its intimate relations with the details of politics and business. But it has always commanded the interest and services of men of the highest ability; and its professional contribution to public and social welfare, the securing of justice in human relations, has never been so imperatively needed.

Law is an overcrowded profession, as medicine was before the standards of medical education were raised. An authority on legal education has observed that it is to be compared not so much with medicine alone as with the group containing medicine, nursing, pharmacy, and midwifery. The 1910 census found 1,343 women lawyers; and the dean of a law school estimates that there are now about fifteen hundred women members of the bar. The Bureau of Education gives a total of 687 women law students and 103 women graduates in 1916, distributed among 124 law schools. Of these schools, 102 are connected with universities; 22 are independent schools, including full-time day schools, evening schools, and mixed schools, giving both day and late afternoon or evening instruction. The average standard course is three years in length. The majority of women students are still to be found in evening or mixed schools. Of the seven law schools of highest entrance requirements, Harvard, Columbia, and Western Reserve do not as yet admit women. The Yale Law School was opened in 1919-1920 for the first time to women with a satisfactory college degree. The University of Pennsylvania Law School, also on a full graduate basis, has been open to them since 1898; but few women have taken

the course. The dean of a middle-western university law school writes: "The attendance of women in the law school of this university has had a history rather hard to account for. During the eighties and early nineties of the last century there were usually from twenty to thirty women in the law school. Then the number began to decline, and there have been years during the last decade when there were no women students here. Recently the number has begun to increase slightly. . . . There are at present six women in the law school, and the number of inquiries from prospective women students has distinctly increased during the last year or so. . . . There were but two women graduates from the period 1907 to 1912. We have had three or four women during the sixteen years of my connection with this law school who have made real successes at the bar, and two of them I would count among the ablest students we have had during that period."

According to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching[1] the number of men students in law schools fell off in 1918 about seventy per cent on account of the war. The number of women, on the contrary, increased over twenty-six per cent, from five to seventeen per cent of the total attendance. This increase, however, was 92.4 per cent in the evening schools and 31.5 in the mixed schools, while there was a slight decrease in the attendance of women upon the full-time day schools. Such evidence indicates that there is danger of a supply of imperfectly trained women lawyers, and that one of the important tasks immediately ahead is the active encouragement of women students in full-time law schools of the highest standards. Fellowships might well be established to this end.

The American Bar Association, the Association of American Law Schools, the United States Bureau of Education, and the division of Legal education of the Carnegie Foundation are all actively working for the raising of the standards of legal education and state requirements for admission to the bar. These last vary widely.[2] The recommendations

[1] *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1918).
[2] *Women in the Law* (1921), Bulletin 3, Bureau of Vocational Information.

made to the American Bar Association in 1916 call for preliminary education equal to that required for admission to the state university or the standard college of the state; official registration as a law student, and four years of legal study, including three years in an approved law school and one full year as a registered clerk in a law office. Many of the better university law schools already require two years of college work with pre-professional courses, and at least three require college graduation. The long awaited Carnegie report on legal education will probably lead to as great an outcry and accomplish as much good as the famous report on medical education in 1910.

In the meantime there is a strong movement within the profession for the simplification of American legal procedure, which is overburdened with precedent and detail, and for a clearer recognition of its public and social obligations, a greater emphasis upon its responsibilities as the guardian of essential human rights and the furtherer of justice to every economic and social group. The law needs imperatively men and women who are not merely class-minded and property-minded, but who bring a trained and active intelligence to bear upon the difficult problems of justice in modern human relations.[1]

These newer developments in the legal profession strengthen its appeal to women. Their own new political status tends to widen their legal opportunities, and will enable them to take a more active part both in the administration of justice and in the promotion of sound legislation. Many women lawyers and other leaders in the long fight for the franchise have gained an extensive legal and political education which they are putting at the disposal not only of inexperienced women voters but of all "forgotten" and handicapped groups in the population—foreigners, small tenants and debtors, unskilled and low-paid wage earners, the ignorant and helpless and exploited everywhere. Their relative detachment from vested interests and large property transactions leaves women free to devote themselves to the human and preventive side of law, to

[1] The Cleveland Foundation is conducting in 1920-1921 a survey of the administration of justice in that city.

the cause of "Justice and the Poor," so impressively set forth in the recent Carnegie bulletin of that name,[1] which every woman thinking of law as a profession should read and ponder. Women lawyers are of course especially needed in matters concerning the protection and welfare of women and of children; they are needed in legal aid societies until a more enlightened administration of law renders such societies unnecessary; they seem admirably fitted to fill the post of "public defender" now so widely advocated. They are also greatly needed as judges in juvenile courts, municipal courts, courts of domestic relations, small claims courts, and so on. They should have a place on industrial accident boards and boards of arbitration and conciliation. Many women lawyers to-day are using their training indirectly in different social services, as probation officers, parole officers, child-placing agents, industrial investigators, executives of social organizations. Law is behind medicine in developing the conceptions of prevention and research; but there are likely to be increasing opportunities for women of high legal scholarship and technical equipment in the research field. Dean Roscoe Pound has advocated the establishment of a Research Bureau of Justice. The American Association for International Conciliation, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and other associations carry on legal investigations. With the establishment of the League of Nations the study of national and international law will undoubtedly widen in scope. Just at present there is almost an obligation upon women lawyers of sound liberal education, thorough professional training, strong character, and indisputable standing in the community to become candidates for judicial and other public offices. New York has a woman assistant district attorney and a woman city magistrate appointed by the mayor and presiding over the women's court and the court of domestic relations. A woman is judge of the juvenile court in Washington, D. C. Another has been elected judge in the court of common pleas in Ohio. A woman has been federal probate attorney for Indians in Oklahoma. A Cal-

[1] Reginald H. Smith. Carnegie Foundation Bulletin Number Thirteen (1919).

ifornia woman, a university graduate, has just been appointed an assistant attorney-general of the United States, the first woman to hold such a position.

The subdivisions of the law are many and technical.[1] The main distinctions are those between office practice and court practice, civil and criminal law, and independent and salaried practitioners. There are some very successful women lawyers in independent practice; but the majority are in salaried positions with law firms or in the legal departments of insurance companies, railroads, title and trust or real estate companies, commercial or industrial firms, social organizations, or the government services. Few women lawyers have engaged in extensive court practice, but there is no reason why they should not do so, if properly qualified.

Women who wish to enter the law should consider it imperative to secure preparation in a law school of high standing, in which the training includes study by the case-method,[2] practice in moot-courts, and emphasis upon modern legal and social problems as well as upon technical legal procedure. This training should be based upon a comprehensive liberal education including some Latin, and courses in economics and sociology, history, politics and government, philosophy, biology, and psychology, with attention to its abnormal aspects. They should have robust health, clear and vigorous minds, the ability to weigh evidence impartially, to handle detail, and to reach practical decisions without losing idealism; above all, an inexhaustible interest in the workings of the body politic and the workings of the popular mind. In a profession that is still practically a pioneer field for women, employment depends largely upon individual initiative. But the law school attended, lawyers' associations, advertisement in law journals, registration with bureaus of occupations, may all be of assistance.

The eighteen lawyers filling our schedules in 1918-1919 represent all parts of the country from New England to the Pacific coast. Nine are in independent practice; eight are in

[1] F. J. Allen. *The Law as a Vocation.* Second Edition (1919).

[2] See *Women in the Law* (1921). Dr. Josef Redlich. *The Common Law and the Case Method.* Carnegie Foundation Bulletin Number Eight (1914).

salaried positions; one is dean of her own law school. Of the independent group, one is in partnership with her father, another with her husband; one is also editor of a law journal; one has in addition a yearly retaining fee from a corporation. The only lawyer giving her earnings reports an income of $5,000 during the past year. In the salaried group, the incomes are not high, ranging from $660 for an attorney for a legal aid society to $2,150 for an elected justice of the peace. The median is between $1,800 and $2,000. One woman reports salaries of which she knows as $2,500 for a woman lawyer in government service, $3,000 for a woman in the legal department of a business organization, and $3,600 for a woman judge. Of the salaried lawyers, five are in direct legal work and three are using their training indirectly. These include a woman in charge of a department of law and thrift in a women's educational and philanthropic organization in the east, a woman in the legal department of a railroad, a law clerk in the legal department of a large western city, an attorney for a middle-western legal aid society, a Pacific Coast justice of the peace, an assistant to the secretary of the Federal Land Bank in a southern district, an executive secretary of a city suffrage organization, an organizing secretary for the National Board of Young Women's Christian Association. Six of the women lawyers reporting are college graduates and graduates of university law schools, one of them from a four-year course open only to those with a college degree. One has the degree of doctor of jurisprudence. Four others are graduates of two-year law schools attached to universities, but are without college degrees. One is a graduate of an independent law school. The others give no information.

Some comments follow. A young college woman says: "In the legal profession, men and women alike are met at the outset with the same problem of salaries insufficient for living expenses. . . . After a year or two of experience it is possible for men to get $20 a week, or possibly more. Women meet with discrimination here, the larger firms being almost unanimously opposed to employing them; and it is with these larger firms that the large salaries are to be ob-

tained. There is one thing to be said, however, a firm which has once had a woman in its employ is ever thereafter open to women. . . . The obtaining of the vote in New York state has made the greatest difference. Hitherto the District Attorney's Office, the best school for criminal practice —and incidentally one which offers a living wage—has been closed to women. One of the first acts of the present administration was to appoint a woman assistant district attorney. There is undoubtedly a similar reaction going on in the private offices, as they cannot fail to be affected by the change in the political status of women."

A member of a successful firm of women lawyers in a metropolitan eastern city says: "Get a business training. Law is not all library work and appealing to juries. Then be willing to do any kind of drudge work at first. Familiarity with downtown office conditions is absolutely essential and takes time to acquire. Get all 'Portia' notions out of your head. . . . The way to secure positions is simply to apply. A great many law offices will take inexperienced girls at a nominal salary, but the girl must have outside financial help or some additional employment like tutoring or secretarial work. She can sometimes get part-time law work."

The only woman lawyer in an eastern rural state says: "I served on both of our county draft boards, and was an associate member of the legal advisory board. . . . I have already advised two women to take up the legal profession. . . . Acquire all the education you can; if not able to graduate spend at least one or two years in a law school, combining it with work in an office."

A western lawyer says: "A woman should have some business experience before entering the legal profession."

A college graduate with a J. D. degree from one of the best university law schools in the country and experience in Legal Aid Society work makes the following illuminating comments: "I advise women to get as good as, if not a better legal training than men get, and to devote themselves exclusively to law, if possible, during the years of study. Only in this way can they become 'professional' and able to face well-trained men. The west offers better oppor-

tunities in law than the east. I strongly advise legal training for ambitious women who are attracted to social work or executive work, as well as for those who definitely want to practice. Practice is still hard to get, though not impossible. But the training is invaluable, and should open many fields to women. Personally, I am much interested in proposed legislative reform and its effects when undertaken; and I hope to do some work in this line. In my professional training the thing most helpful for my working experience has been inventiveness in meeting practical situations and devising some way out and boldness in undertaking it. I consider my experience as attorney for a legal aid society the best possible training for the general practice of law. It was further valuable because it gave me an acquaintance with all the social service agencies and their methods."

It is almost impossible at the present time to make a fair and adequate statement with respect to the situation and opportunities of women ministers and religious workers. Apart from ordained ministers only women with a corresponding training may properly be considered in a chapter on women in the learned professions. Many other workers under religious auspices, such as workers in the different departments of the Young Women's Christian Associations, parish visitors, workers in religious education, journalism, and publicity, secretaries of religious organizations, belong rather with the professions in which lie their training and experience. With the growing socialization of religious activities, women in almost every professional field may be found working under the direction of religious organizations. In the past, requirements and salaries for men as well as women ministers and religious workers have often been pitifully below true professional standards. But there is a growing recognition on the part of religious bodies and the great religious associations that professional preparation and working conditions for both men and women must approximate those found in the other professions, if organized religion is to meet its spiritual and social responsibilities in the world of to-day. There is also a growing

recognition that women should have a more active share in church government and administration.

The main types of religious work for both women ministers and non-ordained professional women are (1) parish work; (2) foreign and home missionary work; (3) administrative and educational work, in connection with religious organizations.[1] It is difficult to determine the position of women ministers to-day.[2] The 1910 census reported 685. The Bureau of Education reported for 1916-1917 760 women students and 67 graduates in a total of 169 theological schools. But inquiry of several standard schools of theology reveals the fact that few of these women are preparing for active service in the ministry, probably fewer than were so preparing twenty or thirty years ago. The Hartford Theological Seminary has had over fifty women graduates, and has many women students in its School of Religious Pedagogy and Kennedy School of Missions, all three incorporated as the Hartford Seminary Foundation. It is impossible to say how many have been ordained as ministers.[2] Most women students of divinity appear to be fitting themselves for service as lay parish assistants, or as teachers, educational directors, secretaries, or missionaries. The Meadville Theological School of the Unitarian denomination established several years ago a special course for parish assistants and lay workers. The Tuckerman School in Boston is a similar Unitarian school for the training of lay workers. Union Theological Seminary has a coöperative arrangement with Teachers College of Columbia University, and a number of women students in Teachers College are taking special courses in religious education. The Divinity School of the University of Chicago, which has a number of women enrolled, reports that few are graduated. The National Training System of the Young Women's Christian Associations is not closely comparable to the training given in the schools of divinity. But its two-year courses for secre-

[1] See Oberlin Bulletin, *Vocational Advice for College Students* under *Ministry, Foreign Missionary Work, Religious Work;* Leland Stanford Junior University Bulletin, *Vocational Information* under *Ministry.*

[2] See *Women Preachers. Woman Citizen.* December 18, 1920.

taries and its many short summer and field courses are strongly religious as well as sociological and educational in character; and many religious workers and missionaries are drafted from the ranks of Christian Association secretaries. But it may be said that Association work is a profession or a group of professions in itself.[1]

In general, apart from Christian Association work, the two religious fields which attract women in considerable numbers, and which are making steadily increasing demands for women of full professional training, are the missionary field and the field of religious education and administration. The modern missionary must be an educator, a social worker, a health worker, and a student of racial psychology and racial customs. It is often of the highest importance, in the eastern countries especially, that she have medical training. In the field of religious education and administration, all the more important denominations have special departments in charge of experts who are seeking to organize and improve the quality of religious instruction in their colleges, schools, Sunday schools, and classes for young people and adults. The Religious Education Association has been an active coördinating agency. Many of the denominations have also social-service departments. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has led in interdenominational activities; and the Interchurch World Movement employed men and women professional workers of many kinds. In short, the religious coöperations fostered by the war, the heightened interest of religious bodies in social and industrial problems, the great campaigns for funds, such as that recently completed by the Methodists, all promise a period of greatly enlarged religious enterprise and religious publicity. One of the most forward-looking programs for reconstruction is that issued by the Catholic War Council. All these movements need men and women with professional training, power of leadership, and genuine religious spirit. A result may be that women will find a new appeal in the active work of the ministry, and that we shall have more women in charge of parishes.

[1] See Oberlin Bulletin, *Vocational Advice for College Students* under *Y. W. C. A.*

There seems a special need for such women in country communities, where they might develop a vigorous church and social life in coöperation with the schools, the library, the grange, the county farm-bureau, the rural nurse, far better than the discouraged elderly parsons or callow youths from the seminary generally sent to such places. It would be well worth the while of the churches to try the experiment of sending a number of picked women ministers into rural parishes and to pay part of their salaries. At present, there are a few women ministers or assistant ministers in parishes and a larger number of pastor's assistants and parish visitors. The duties of these women are varied, including educational and social work, direction of clubs and organizations, making of parish calls, and frequently considerable secretarial, clerical, and bookkeeping work.

We have returns from only five women in the field of religious work. They include a woman minister of successful experience in several parishes, now associate secretary of the department of religious education of the national board of her denomination; an assistant to the secretary of the board of pastoral supply of another denomination; a parish assistant in a large eastern city; an office secretary of a city union church; a pastor's helper in another city church. Only three report salaries, ranging from $720 to $2,100. Three are college graduates; one has had special courses at Oxford; another has had a year of college work. One parish worker has taken a full theological course and has a degree in divinity. The minister says: "As a minister I participated in such community activities as women's clubs, playground associations, suffrage organizations, state board of civic leagues, and was a member of a goodly number of ministerial organizations of various kinds, and have done active work with religious education associations of all denominations, on committees and in conventions." Her advice to women entering the ministry or the work of religious education is: "Get thorough training. In this case it means the training of a professional school or, as a possible substitute, after a college course, training in literary work and in special schools of religious education or special college courses in that subject." With regard to the salaries of

men and women ministers, she observes: "Differences come from the fact that congregations are not yet used to women ministers, and before this year (1918) had little difficulty in securing a man for the pulpit if they wanted one. In every parish I have had since the first the congregation has paid me all it could have afforded to pay a man in my place; in my last parish they secured my services by paying me $200 more than they had paid the man who preceded me. War conditions are likely to open more opportunities for women ministers. They will need just as extensive and intensive training as men receive for the highest success. Men's failures are laid to their individual traits; women's, to the fact that they are women."

A parish assistant says: "I superintend the church school; keep the parish list, etc.; arrange and assist in meetings and entertainments; make calls; indeed, do a little of everything. My work includes teaching, organizing, social and secretarial work; but teaching is rather more important than the others."

CHAPTER V

HEALTH SERVICES OTHER THAN MEDICINE

THE last chapter emphasized the growth of preventive and group medicine and the impetus given by the war to the movement for public health in the larger sense. We are undoubtedly entering upon a still more active period in the control of disease and the encouragement of positive health conditions, ideas, and practices. The key-notes of modern health work are education and coöperation. It therefore makes use of every means of reaching people: federal, state, and city governments; schools, libraries, playgrounds, newspapers, magazines, motion-pictures; shops, factories, labor unions; organizations such as the Red Cross, women's clubs, chambers of commerce and civic leagues, Christian Associations, Knights of Columbus, Boy and Girl Scouts; health associations such as the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Social Hygiene Association, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene; commercial health enterprises such as the Life Extension Institute and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. It invites the coöperation of such agencies in the formulation and application of a comprehensive health program which is at the same time a comprehensive social program; enlists health and social workers of many types; and evolves new types to meet new needs. In the development of the movement, the doctor, the sanitary engineer, the nurse, and the social worker have led the way, with the last two closest to the firing line. More recent are the medical social worker, the psychiatric social worker, the occupation therapist, the physiotherapist, the industrial hygienist, the physical educator, the nutrition worker, the playground and recreation worker, the health publicity worker. Fundamental to them all is the laboratory research worker. Even to-day we can

hardly realize the extent to which health ideas are shaping contemporary education, social and civic work, and proposed legislation. While the functions and professional status of the newer types of health worker are matters of conspicuous discussion and experimentation, there is going on a quiet reformulation of the older conceptions of both doctor and nurse, and an active effort to utilize every type of worker in a statesmanlike attack upon the many problems of social and individual health.

This coöperation gives promise of coming about most practically and effectively through the development of local health centers. Many have already been organized experimentally throughout the country under state, city, or non-governmental auspices. Ohio has a new health center law. New York and other states are proposing to establish them. The American Red Cross has a program for health centers. The federal Children's Bureau [1] through its Children's Year campaign and through its continuous activities for child welfare has led in the spreading of the idea. Its urban and rural health studies have called attention to the child of "pre-school" age. The "social unit" experiment in Cincinnati has done its most intensive work in community and child health. The model department of charities and corrections of Westchester County, New York, lays a like emphasis. The Framingham tuberculosis demonstration points out the value of local coördination of health activities.

Fully organized health centers would be stations for health teaching, information, and advice, health services of all kinds. They would be more than clinics and dispensaries,[2] though they would include them, for their work would be preventive even more than curative, and would serve all social and economic groups. They would provide pre-natal and infant-care service; child-hygiene service; service for special diseases, such as tuberculosis, diabetes, cardiac defects, venereal diseases; industrial hygiene service; nutrition and mental hygiene services all along the line. They would

[1] See Children's Bureau Publications (1912 to date).

[2] For a constructive conception of these agencies, see Michael M. Davis and Andrew R. Warner. *Dispensaries: Their Management and Development* (1918).

map the health needs and the health opportunities of the district served, and would connect it with the larger health resources of the city, county, state, and nation, of which they would be local units. They would work in close relations with schools, playground and recreation agencies, housing and food-distributing agencies, commercial and industrial establishments. They would focus and coördinate the efforts of doctors, nurses, nutrition workers, child-welfare workers, medical and psychiatric social workers, teachers, physical and recreation directors, housing and food inspectors, industrial health workers. Such health centers would become clearing-houses for many community efforts that are now carried on independently and frequently overlap. Health matters are concrete and understandable, and when the emphasis is upon prevention and education, they become a rallying-point for community activity, and harness to themselves many other interests. It is moreover, essential to keep in mind as the health center movement develops, that it must be carried on with active community coöperation, management, and support, and not as a philanthropic enterprise.

Until such health centers are generally established, there are many agencies and many workers engaged in the furthering of health policies and health undertakings. There are likewise a growing number of institutions other than medical schools which offer training of a professional character for health workers. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology organized the pioneer course in public health and sanitary engineering, and has conducted a coöperative course with Harvard University, leading to the degrees of master and doctor of public health. A number of state universities have similar courses. Yale University has within a few years developed a strong graduate department of public health in connection with its medical school. In 1918 Johns Hopkins University opened its School of Hygiene and Public Health with a minimum admission requirement of two years of college work. The Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania inaugurated in 1919 a course in public health. Teachers College of Columbia University maintains a Department of Nursing and Health open to graduate nurses

with full high school education. Simmons College has similar courses. The Nursing Service of the American Red Cross is offering fellowships in public health. The various schools of social work are giving courses in health problems, in medical social service, and in psychiatric social service. The Rockefeller Foundation actively furthers health research and health education along various lines. State and city boards of health and bureaus of child hygiene, hospitals, clinics, dispensaries, educational and other institutions, organizations, and industries are all calling for health workers. The United States Public Health Service is carrying on some of the health movements inaugurated as war measures, and is planning further activities in connection with state health authorities, if Congress provide the funds. The problems of an adequate rural health service press for attention and action. The Red Cross has a program for rural health work. Health surveys are being made under various auspices. Investigators, organizers, teachers, publicity workers, are needed in these various projects. There are multiplying opportunities for training in all these types of work.

Of health workers other than doctors, the hundred thousand odd graduate, or registered, nurses are by far the largest, best-known, and oldest group. Nursing, like medicine, is in process of reorganization. But for the present, it is in the main a potential rather than an actual profession, to be compared with teaching more truly than with law or medicine. Its signal services in the war and the widespread interest then aroused in nursing education have focused attention both upon its limitations and its possibilities. It already possesses some unmistakable marks of a profession as this book uses the term—a definite type of training for a practical end; strong group spirit and organization; state examination and registration. It even looks forward to a mandatory license system for all practitioners, as in medicine. But conditions persist which seriously compromise its assured position as a profession. Chief among these are: (1) the wide variations in the quality and standing of hospital training schools for nurses; (2) the low standards of preliminary education required for admission to hospital

training schools; (3) the fact that hospitals profit financially from the services of student nurses in their training schools; (4) the traditional conception of the nurse as a routine worker with the individual patient and not with the family or the community, and thus concerned with cure rather than with prevention.

The leaders in the nursing world clearly recognize these defects and have taken active steps to remedy them. The study of nursing education now in progress under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation is bound to be fruitful of professional results in many ways. Even before the war a committee of the National League of Nursing Education issued a *Standard Curriculum for Schools of Nursing* which embodies the best existing practice and points toward further professional development, while frankly recognizing present lacks and difficulties. It urges graduation from an accredited high school as an admission requirement "which is insisted upon for every other type of professional training"; and advocates the affiliation of schools of nursing with adjacent colleges and universities, the granting of nine months' credit to students who have taken certain college courses in science, and, when possible, the joint college and nursing course. During the war the Army School of Nursing required high school graduation for admission. A number of the leading hospitals also make this requirement; and training schools which are an integral part of universities hold to the regular standards of college entrance. New York is raising its educational requirements for nurses, so that by 1924 only high-school graduates will be admitted to hospital training schools in that state. But there is still a highly unprofessional variation in the standards of training schools. Some provide only a two years' course, and admit students with only one year of high school or even with only a grammar school education. There is an increasing demand for a systematic study and rating of schools of nursing and the publication of a list of standard schools, as in the case of medicine. Until this is done, women thinking of nursing as a profession should look carefully into the matter of preparation, and select a school of unimpeachable standing, affiliated if possible with an educa-

tional institution. Training schools are already ranked as A and B by the United States Bureau of Education.

Even a high-school education, however, is not sufficient pre-professional training for the leaders in nursing, if it is to keep pace with other professions. An increasing number of universities, following the lead of the universities of Minnesota and Cincinnati, Western Reserve University, the State University of Iowa, and the University of California, are offering a five-year course leading to the bachelor's degree and the diploma in nursing, and are providing graduate courses in public health nursing, nursing administration, and nursing education. Teachers College of Columbia University is adopting this plan. The University of Michigan has recently established a professorship of public health nursing. War-emergency efforts to increase the supply of nurses with good educational background, such as the Vassar Summer Training Camp for Nurses, which gave preliminary training to nearly five hundred college graduates entering hospitals for a two years' course, have had a lasting effect in interesting a larger number of college women in nursing. Even more important, they have introduced the colleges and the training schools to one another.

The aspect of the present training school system most seriously demanding investigation is the amount of routine hospital service required of the student nurse and prolonged for the benefit of the hospital after its educational value has been exhausted. In no profession are actual practice and the acquirement of certain techniques more important than in nursing. But theory and practice must be educationally related as in other types of professional training. The financial basis of nursing education is at present thoroughly unsound and unprofessional, with the danger of exploitation of the student constantly lurking within it. Only with endowed or publicly supported schools of nursing or the working out of some other satisfactory arrangement, will the three years given to the training of the nurse become actually as well as nominally educational. When the time spent with patients and on wards is reorganized on a basis of supervised laboratory and practice work, there will be an opportunity to enrich the present meager content of the

nursing curriculum and to bring the teaching up to modern professional standards.

Training school teaching can no longer be done by any nurse or doctor available. It must be done by properly trained and adequately paid instructors. It can no longer confine itself to what goes on within the walls of the hospital. It must show the social and economic wastes of sickness and injury, the social and personal significance of health. It must make use of problem and project and discussion and laboratory methods instead of the old rote cramming of text-books and the old drill learning of techniques. It must provide for observation field trips. It must include something that has yet to be worked out, a simple and practical course in psychology and mental hygiene with special attention to illness and convalescence and the psychological grounds for positive health interests and responses. A redistribution of the time allotted to instruction and to practical hospital duties is being forced upon many hospitals by the legal requirements in certain states of an eight-hour day for nurses. A few leading hospitals are trying the experiment of having their student nurses live outside like other students, meeting a regular program of classroom, ward, and laboratory engagements. It may be that some plan will be worked out for certain years or certain terms of hospital residence or "nursing internship" during the course rather than the present method of residence for the entire three years. But whatever the final forms and varieties of nursing education, it has at least entered upon a period of active inquiry and vigorous growth in desirable directions.

This has largely come about through the new position and responsibilities of the nurse in the public health movement. Her duties are no longer confined to bedside nursing in the hospital or in the private home under the immediate direction of the doctor in charge of the individual case. The public health nurse—whether under a visiting nurse association, a board of health, a board of education, a community center, an industrial corporation; whether tuberculosis nurse, infant welfare nurse, pre-school nurse, school nurse, industrial nurse, mental hygiene nurse—is respon-

sible to a group. She coöperates with various doctors, social workers, public officials, organizations. She must know the social and economic standards and customs of the neighborhood in which she works and the families with which she has to do. She must know how to utilize and to develop all the resources of the community, those that make for health as well as those that bring assistance in time of illness. In this way, she becomes an expert field agent in matters of health rather than the subordinate of a single physician. The problem of the relations between the socialized nurse and the socialized physician still remain to be worked out by the two groups. There are still sharply divergent views and persistent traditions from the old individualistic order of things in both medicine and nursing. It is undoubtedly true that bedside care of the sick is an essential technique for nurses of every type. In private cases the nurse is unquestionably under the doctor's orders; but the growing emphasis upon the importance of nursing care renders her position even there one of great responsibility. It by no means follows that her entire hospital training should be carried on as a sort of military discipline, with discouragement of initiative and encouragement of merely routine skill. In the past, however, this has too often been the case; and it has done much to disqualify the nurse as a professional worker. The shortage of nurses during the war reduced their private employment; and it may come to pass that for rich as well as poor serious cases will be given hospital treatment and minor cases will be treated at home through a visiting nurse service. It is certainly true that at present "private nursing" is not conducted on a wholly professional basis either as regards charges or mode of engagement. The most poorly equipped teacher or social worker is employed and paid by a responsible group.

Socialized or public health nursing is already divided into various fields, requiring special preparation. How much of this should be given in the undergraduate nursing course, how much should be left for special graduate study is matter of discussion among experts in nursing education. Probably, as in other professions, the undergraduate training

should open up the several fields but should leave full equipment to subsequent specialization.

Whatever may be said of the professional standing of private or "bedside" nurses, three groups of nurses have undoubted professional responsibilities, and are coming to possess preliminary education and special training of an unmistakably professional character. These are administrative nurses, teaching nurses, and public health nurses. Nurses with college education, experience, and graduate training are in large demand as superintendents of nurses in well organized hospitals, as directors and teachers in training schools, as executive heads of visiting nurse associations or other health organizations, as investigators and makers of surveys. Nurses are sometimes heads of small hospitals, sanatoria, and other institutions. Public health nursing is increasing by leaps and bounds. With the establishment of neighborhood health centers, various types of public health nurse will be assigned to them—mother and infant welfare nurses, tuberculosis nurses, possibly school nurses, psychiatric nurses, and industrial nurses.[1] In the small town or rural district, there may be only a single public health nurse. Industrial nurses employed by corporations are among the most recent of public health developments, and their position and responsibilities vary widely, and are still unstandardized.[2] Perhaps eventually they will be more properly attached to an adjacent health center. Many large department stores, hotels, and other commercial firms employ nurses for their workers and patrons.

Women planning to enter any one of these three professional nursing groups should have had as full a college education as possible, with courses in the laboratory sciences, especially in bacteriology and the chemistry of nutrition, psychology, and the economic and social sciences. Interest in art and literature are valuable assets. If they have not already secured college education, they should select one of the five-year courses leading to a college degree and a nursing diploma. A woman beginning her professional work at twenty-five or even thirty thus equipped will go farther

[1] Mary S. Gardner. *Public Health Nursing* (1916).
[2] See Florence S. Wright. *Industrial Nursing* (1919).

professionally than a woman with only the ordinary three-year course at a training school. Women entering nursing need good health, steadiness and persistence, a liking for people, cheerful common sense, an interest in both the scientific and the practical sides of the work and in its social relations.

There is a steady demand for well-trained nurses with special equipment. The great nursing organizations, the Red Cross Bureau of Information for Nurses in New York, the coöperative nurses' registries, and the training schools are all means of securing employment. The commercial nurses' registries are to be avoided by the professional nurse.

Private bedside nursing at a high weekly rate is said to pay better than salaried nursing along any of the above lines. But the work is irregular, exhausting, and lacking in many of the professional satisfactions and contacts of the salaried type of position. As educational and personal standards rise, salaries for nurses compare favorably with those in other professions. Of fifteen salaried nurses filling our schedules for the most part in 1918, eleven received salaries ranging from $900 to $3,000 with a median salary of $1,300. One group includes a superintendent of a hospital and training school in a good-sized eastern city; a superintendent of a visiting nurse association in a great middle-western city, in charge of a staff of ninety-six nurses and six office workers; a director of nurses in a divisional headquarters of the American Red Cross; a chief child welfare supervisor of a New England state department of health. Salaries in this group are from $1,500 and traveling expenses to $3,000. Another group includes three district supervisors in the state department of health above mentioned, each having oversight of some thirty or forty cities and towns and carrying on educational and investigational child hygiene work; a district supervisor of an eastern visiting nurse association, in charge of seven nurses; a supervising nurse under the civic improvement league of a large southern city; a visiting nurse for a middle-western tuberculosis society. Salaries here range from $900 to $1,400 with a median salary of $1,200. The industrial group includes five nurses, employed by a Northern Michi-

gan mining company and firms manufacturing confectionery, shoes, rubber tires, and automobiles. Salaries range from $900 to $1,320 with a median salary of $1,120. In addition, seven large manufacturing companies report that they employ from one to fourteen nurses.

Of the fifteen nurses one is a college graduate with training in a good hospital and a year's course at a school of social work; one is a normal school graduate; three are high-school graduates; two were educated in private schools; three have only an elementary school education. Four have had graduate courses in public health; one has taken college work in domestic science; two have had summer courses for nurses at a school of social work. Several have been school teachers, hospital superintendents of nurses, superintendents of visiting nurse associations, school nurses, visiting nurses, and so on.

The supervisor-in-chief of a recently established child conservation service under a state department of health says: "If I had my life to live over again, I should make a great effort to get a college education and I should also enter a large, well-known hospital for training. I feel that my year of teaching in a country school, which I consider part of my general education, was most helpful, as was my post-graduate course in public health."

The superintendent of a large visiting nurse association says: "Get first a good hospital training, some private duty, and plan for post-graduate work in social theory. Promotion in our association used to be automatic. It now depends on work, ability, personality, etc."

Another nurse doing state child conservation work says: "Have at least a high school education; train in the hospital giving the best training in surgery, obstetrics, children, and infant feeding." She regrets her lack of college education.

The "social welfare nurse" in a mining company says: "This corporation are highly desirable employers, appreciative of their employees. They give prizes for better gardens and fewer accidents in mines. . . . In the first year they gave me a week to visit other industrial plants; in the second, a six weeks' course at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy; in the third, a trip to the Anti-Tuberculosis

Convention." Her work includes bedside nursing, investigation, teaching, infant welfare, and pre-natal care.

The single nurse in a large automobile manufacturing company says: "It is an old corporation, and I believe they are adjusting things to modern thought and needs as fast as possible. However, much remains to be done. There is no special training available in this city. I keep in touch with other workers through the *American Journal of Nursing,* the *Public Health Quarterly,* and through conventions, which I have leave of absence without pay to attend."

A staff nurse in a rubber company employing 5,000 people is assigned to first-aid and illness work. She is under a physician and a non-medical man superintendent of the health department. She says: "Each nurse has her own line of responsibilities. They must have ability to handle all nationalities of men and women. The company provides dining-room, rest-room, and reading-rooms in care of a matron."

The employment manager of a large metal products factory says: "The nurse has a good deal of authority in admitting to work people who have been out sick and in regulating the cleanliness, ventilation, and improvements in the mill."

About fifteen years ago, the realization that hospital care was often only partially and temporarily successful because of ignorance of a patient's home, family, and occupational circumstances and of the agencies to bring to bear upon conditions needing correction or improvement; that returning a convalescent to the very situation that caused or contributed to his illness was a stupid human and economic waste, led to the idea of employing a trained social case worker as a hospital home visitor, or, as she came to be called, a hospital social worker. With later specializations, the social worker attached to a general hospital, dispensary, or clinic has come to be known as a medical social worker; the worker attached to a mental or psychopathic hospital, ward, clinic, or other agency, has come to be known as a psychiatric or mental-hygiene social worker. Both groups have recently united to form the American Association of

Hospital Social Workers, which has representation in the Conference on Hospital Service, made up of delegates from fifteen national organizations having more or less special interest in hospital work.

The two groups, medical and psychiatric, have their own problems of training and practice; but each has much to learn from the other. They both work under medical supervision with "in-patients" or "out-patients." So far, therefore, their purpose has been rehabilitation rather than prevention. But their intimate acquaintance with the patient and his circumstances enables them to carry on considerable educational work with his family and associates and to furnish invaluable data to agencies working for education and preventive legislation. Workers with this training are being increasingly employed by public health organizations and by social agencies.

The first full-time medical social worker was appointed in 1905 in the out-patient department of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston through the efforts of Dr. Richard C. Cabot.[1] Partial beginnings had already been made in this country and elsewhere through out-patient departments, after-care committees, and visiting nurse associations. To-day there are not far from three hundred hospitals in the United States employing social workers, some of them with large staffs.[2]

There is still discussion as to whether the medical social worker should have had nurse's training, and considerable difference of opinion. Some of the most successful have been nurses; others equally successful have not been. Miss Gardner says: "The nurse who takes up medical social service work differs from other public health nurses in that she deliberately enters another profession . . . her nurse's training, though most valuable, and in the opinion of many, indispensable, becomes at the same time almost worthless, unless it is supplemented by a thorough working knowledge of the fundamental principles of modern social work."[3]

[1] See his *Social Work* (1919), especially Introduction and Part I.
[2] See Edna G. Henry. *Modern Hospital.* March, 1920.
[3] *Public Health Nursing,* pp. 320, 321. See all of Chapter 6.

Dr. Cabot says: "It may be said with truth that the training of a nurse, as we know it in America, at any rate, really unfits a woman in some respects for the work of a social worker, since it accustoms her to habitual obedience and subordination."[1]

There seems an increasing need for both types of health worker and nothing to be gained by breaking down the distinction between them, although they should work in active coöperation. The special techniques of the medical or psychiatric social worker are those of family case work and modern applied psychology; her general background and connections are medical. The special techniques of the public health nurse are those of medical assistance and care and the encouragement of health conditions; her general background and connections are social and civic. The function of both is educational; but their professional and social functions are distinct.

The psychiatric social worker is a much more recent and more specialized development than the medical social worker. Neither her title nor her training took definite form until the summer of 1918, when Smith College and the Boston State Psychopathic Hospital, with an advisory committee of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, established as a war-emergency measure the Smith College Training School of Psychiatric Social Work with an intensive course of eight weeks, followed by nine months of supervised practice training under leading hospitals and social agencies.[2] Over sixty students completed the course, which now requires two summers. The New York School of Social Work began in 1919-1920 a two-year course in mental hygiene and psychiatric social work under the direction of a distinguished social psychiatrist. It also offers a course in medical social service. The Philadelphia School of Social Service announces similar courses; and other schools are following.

[1] *Social Work*, p. 19. See also Ida M. Cannon. *Social Work in Hospitals* (1913) and file of *Mental Hygiene*.

[2] For a year or so before 1918, a small group of college graduates had received apprentice training at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, under Miss Mary C. Jarrett, chief of social service and later director of the Smith School.

Even before the war, a growing number of mental hospitals employed social workers with more or less training, chiefly for after-care work with paroled or discharged patients. These must not be confused with eugenics workers, whose main object is to trace the family histories of cases. During the war there was systematic and enlightened provision for the first time in history for the treatment of mental and nervous disturbance and disease among soldiers. The large number of cases of "shell-shock," the popular misnomer for all forms of "war psychosis," has called attention to the presence of an even larger number of persons in civil life of unstable or "psychopathic" make-up as distinguished from the legally insane; and has brought us to the point where it is possible to wage a great campaign for mental health under the leadership of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, with the coöperation of doctors, social workers, nurses, parents, teachers, employers and employed. We are coming to recognize the necessary cooperation of the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the specially trained social worker in the juvenile court, children's societies, organizations and institutions for delinquents of all sorts. We are at the beginning of studying the conditions of industrial mental health. The American Red Cross has employed a considerable number of psychiatric social workers both with returned soldiers and with civilians, sending them to be trained at the Smith School of Social Work and elsewhere.

Three medical and six psychiatric social workers filled our schedules. In the medical group salaries range from $1,500 to $2,600 with a median salary of $1,800, and ages range from thirty-five to forty-five. In the psychiatric group salaries range from $960 to $1,500 with a median salary of $1,160; ages from twenty-five to thirty-five. These last figures indicate the newness of the psychiatric field. The lowest salaries paid in 1918 represent positions of a learner-in-service or apprentice character. Probably to-day beginners with special training in psychiatric social work, including supervised practice, would receive from $1,200 to $1,800. They should receive not less than $1,400. Two of

the medical social workers are graduate nurses; none of the psychiatric.

One of the medical group is a college graduate with a master's degree in sociology; another has had special college courses, nurse's training, and a two years' course in a school of social work. Five of the psychiatric group are college graduates: one is a doctor of philosophy in psychology; two have had training in schools of social work. All have had previous experience in some form of social case work. One has previously been a medical social worker. Four are connected with the social service of psychopathic hospitals; one is social worker in a state hospital for the insane; one is social service director in a state committee for mental hygiene.

The suggestions given by these workers are characteristic of those who have blazed their way in a new field and who realize the economy of securing through proper training what they themselves have had to acquire through the rougher methods of ability profiting by experience.

A pioneer head of a great hospital department says: "Get the best possible social training with case work experience. Get, if possible, medical training. Get experience in a hospital social service department. The most valuable things in my general education have been living in various parts of the country and meeting people of various economic standards quite naturally; in my professional training, familiarity with hospital life and technique, appreciation of the psychology of sick people, knowledge of feeble-minded children. I wish that I had had more definite medical training, more familiarity with convalescent patients, more technical research training, more languages, especially French, German, and Italian."

A leader in psychiatric social work says: "Only those temperamentally suited to the work should undertake it. It requires personality above everything; next to that, maturity and emotional stability and a background of special training in psychology. In my general education the things most helpful for my working experience were teaching and tutoring for my tuition, debating, public-speaking, and dramatics; in my professional training, working out philosophy

and psychology that could be used. In my own education too much time was consumed in public school, too much time wasted on dead languages. There were no opportunities for creative work through use of the hands and no practical contacts with real life."

Another psychiatric social worker says: "Psychiatric social workers need two years, preferably at a school of social work, particularly along medical-social and psychiatric-social lines. In college I should advise courses in psychology, economics, one of the exact sciences, and some foreign language courses."

Another says: "In my college education I should have had more emphasis laid on psychology and economics, both theoretical and practical; in my professional training more practical experience."

Another type of health worker too often confused with the psychiatric social worker is the occupational therapist. This group received a large amount of attention during the war on account of the plans made by the Surgeon General's Office for the use of curative or "diversional" occupations in the military hospitals and the calls issued by its division of physical reconstruction for "aids in occupational therapy." War emergency training courses in this field were offered by Columbia University and in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and elsewhere. For several years the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene has maintained the Henry Baird Favill School of Occupations in coöperation with Hull House and the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. For a number of years physicians and psychologists have realized the value of handicraft occupations for convalescents and their therapeutic influence in nervous and mental disease.[1] Private hospitals and sanitariums have established departments of arts and crafts,—weaving, wood-carving, basketry, modeling, and so on. State hospitals have employed patients in gardening and farming and in various forms of shop-work, mattress, brush, and basket making, chair-caning, and the like. In some training schools

[1] See George Edward Barton. *Occupations for the Sick* (1920). Herbert J. Hall. *Handicrafts for the Handicapped* (1915).

nurses have received instruction in craft occupations. For the most part, however, this work has not been closely correlated with medical diagnosis and treatment, and has been for the purpose of keeping patients occupied and quiet as much as for strictly therapeutic purposes. It has commonly been in charge of an arts and crafts worker who was neither a psychologist nor a psychiatric social worker. In general hospitals it has been little employed. In the military hospitals and especially in Base Hospital 117, to which men suffering from nervous and mental disorders were sent directly from the front, serious efforts were made to study the whole matter of work psychology and to make the workshop an integral part of medical treatment.[1] On the basis of the war experience, the subject of occupational therapy is likely to receive much more careful and scientific consideration. Columbia University is considering the establishment of a two-year course of training. There is a National Society for the Promotion of Occupational Therapy. As yet the occupational therapist can hardly be thought of as a fully professional health worker; but the movement has been of value in calling attention to the intimate relations between suitable occupation and physical and mental health. A group of experts, centering about the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, have begun research work on the psychology and psychopathology of industrial employments, an inquiry of the utmost importance.

Still another health worker of whom the war made use in new ways is the teacher or director of physical education. The older notion of physical training as a matter of formal drill and gymnastic exercise has been yielding for some years to a less formal and more constructive view of health through hygienic living, including proper exercise, diet, sleep, bathing, clothing, posture, and recreation. Active research has been going on in all these fields and in the field of physical measurements and records. The Playground and

[1] See Sidney L. Schwab. *The Experiment in Occupational Therapy at Base Hospital 117, A. E. F. Mental Hygiene.* October, 1919.

Recreation Association of America has fostered a widespread interest in group plays, games, dances, pageants, and festivals. Music and exercise have been combined in rhythmic gymnastics. Love of outdoor life, wood-lore, and camp activities has been encouraged by such organizations as Boy and Girl Scouts, Camp-Fire Girls, "hiking clubs," and similar enterprises. There are a number of good schools of physical education, some of them connected with colleges and universities. Young women of intelligence, physical vigor, liking for young people, power of leadership, and social imagination will find many opportunities in this field of health work. Positions exist not only in schools and colleges, both public and private, but in public playgrounds, Young Women's Christian Associations, settlements, community centers, organizations for boys and girls and for young women. There is a growing movement toward employing directors of physical education and recreation in stores and factories. Workers in corrective gymnastics are employed by orthopedic surgeons and in orthopedic hospitals, classes and schools for crippled children. "Aids in physiotherapy" were in great demand by the Surgeon General's Office for work in military hospitals to assist in restoring the functions of joints and muscles. A Summer School for Industrial Health Officers was conducted at Mount Holyoke College in 1918 to prepare women with college or equivalent training and some industrial experience to act as health leaders for women employed in munitions factories or other factories working on war contracts for the government. It is the belief of Dr. Kristine Mann, the director of the course, and others in this field that there is need of such a trained health officer or industrial hygienist wherever there are large groups of women employed in industry or commerce, to furnish positive health guidance and suggestion in all matters of daily living. They hold that the industrial nurse is too much identified with ideas and techniques connected with sickness to be able to do this successfully. It is hardly necessary to say that industrial nurses do not agree. Whether there is a permanent and developing place for this new type of health worker remains to be seen. Those most

interested are making plans for a thoroughly professional course of training, which shall include the first two years of medical preparation. It may well be that all health workers who are not physicians need a more solid foundation than they receive at present in the anatomical, physiological, bacteriological, and chemical aspects of medicine. It is certain that they need more psychology and mental hygiene. In any event, physical education is a type of social and public health work that should increasingly attract young college women who are robust, courageous, active in mind and body. Physical and play directors occupy a strategic position as social workers without the label. They often do the finest kind of service for citizenship and the community through bringing native and foreign-born groups together in recreational activities and through providing wholesome expression for that spirit of youth which too often finds its only outlet in the city streets.

The war has likewise shown us that the social hygiene worker is in a very direct sense a health worker, and that the spread of venereal diseases can be controlled and higher standards established only by a "four-fold program of education, law enforcement, recreation, and medical measures," to quote the program of the American Social Hygiene Association. Every probation officer or other worker with delinquent or wayward women and girls should know both the medical and the mental elements involved; and it may not be long before special professional courses will be planned for health workers in these fields who are neither doctors nor nurses.[1]

[1] Nutrition workers are dealt with in Chapter VII, scientific workers in health laboratories in Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER VI

FOOD AND LIVING SERVICES: I

THE war and the difficult period since its close have presented on a world scale the methods and problems of food production, distribution, and consumption, and have shown us that agriculture, marketing of food products, and "home economics" are interrelated and not separate fields. Even to-day it is probable that most of us do not realize the extent to which we were educated in matters of food-supply and food-uses during the war, nor how well this knowledge is serving us in meeting the present exaggerated cost of living and labor shortage. Before the war we were a notably wasteful and unthinking people as regards food and living expenditures. We have still much to learn. But the war activities of the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration provided in effect a great system of publicity and extension teaching. Local war-gardens, canning clubs, municipal markets, and "clothes clinics" were demonstration stations. The use of flour, sugar, meat, and fat substitutes provided a course in food values; and the wide distribution of food price-lists a course in food economics. The work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the American Relief Commission, and unofficial agencies have taught us to think of food and living conditions in the barest terms of human health and welfare and as underlying all sound international relations. Especially have they tragically revealed that the very life of peoples depends upon the proper nutrition of mothers and children; and have led us to confront with new energy and understanding the problems of malnutrition of children and adults in our own country. Here the federal Children's Bureau, and various public health and home economics organizations are leading the

way. On the economic side, the great thrift campaign of the federal Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve banks is reënforced by financial and social agencies in the endeavor to show that thrift is a matter not merely of saving but of intelligent planning and spending. The enforcement of prohibition through the eighteenth amendment and the wider participation of women in public affairs through the passage of the nineteenth amendment both have direct bearings upon problems of food and living, and promise better coördinated and more enlightened action.

Food, clothing, housing are all in a new sense public questions, intimately connected with health, industry, and recreation. The agencies supplying them are coming to be looked upon as "public utilities." The cost of living and new ideas regarding the relations of workers and employers are leading to quantity-feeding projects on an unprecedented scale and to a revolution in methods of service through cafeterias, canteens, cooked-food services, etc., in factories, stores, office-buildings, residence neighborhoods. They are sharply modifying practices in hotels, restaurants, educational and other institutions. Here again, the quantity-feeding enterprises during the war have provided invaluable experience, although many peace-time applications and developments remain to be worked out. It is undoubtedly because of these demonstrations as well as because of coercive current prices that the coöperative movement among consumers appears for the first time to be taking vigorous root in the United States.[1]

Two great government agencies, the Department of Agriculture and the Federal Board for Vocational Education, established in 1917, coöperate actively with the states, encouraging in every possible way the most modern ideas and practices in food production, distribution, and consumption, and the best modern methods of education along these lines. Educationally, the Department of Agriculture is most closely allied with the state agricultural and mechanical colleges and the state experiment stations; the Federal Board with agricultural and industrial training in secondary and special vocational schools. But the Board contributes funds to the

[1] See publications of the Coöperative League of America.

states for the training of vocational teachers in universities, colleges, and normal schools. The Department of Agriculture is one of the great research agencies of the world, and carries on tireless investigations through its bureaus of plant and animal industry, chemistry, soils, entomology, biological survey, weather, and crop estimates. Its bureaus of markets and public roads study problems of packing, shipping, storing, and marketing; its office of farm management studies methods of farm accounting and farm administration. In many of its bureaus professional women with scientific or other training are employed.[1]

Through its States Relations Service, established in 1914, the Department of Agriculture puts all its resources of organization and expert information at the disposal of the states, and with them has built up a great system of county farm bureaus and county agricultural and home demonstration agents. In spite of the dislocations of the war, it had by July, 1918, organized some counties in every state in the Union; and in a number of states, such as Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, a practically complete service of both men and women agents in every agricultural county. During the war additional women agents were appointed, some of them in urban centers, to aid in food conservation. Since the war, these city agents have been reduced from 183 to 24, in spite of a demonstrated need for their services. All along the line, in fact, reduced Congressional appropriations are crippling the important work of the States Relations Service. Between October, 1918, and October, 1919, the men's work was curtailed 9.6 per cent; the boys' and girls' club work, 25.2 per cent; the women's work, 38.9 per cent. The number of women in the state and county home demonstration service was reduced from 1,825 to 1,115. Meanwhile, lack of farm labor and cost of farm supplies are threatening a food shortage even more serious than that during the war. There is imperative need for expert agricultural assistance.

This work is carried on jointly by the state agricultural colleges and the Department of Agriculture. Administration

[1] See Chapter XVII.

and appointments to positions are in the hands of the states. Applications should be made to the Extension Divisions of the several state agricultural colleges. But these not infrequently call upon Washington to recommend experienced workers. In so new and so extensive a system, there are many opportunities for constructive and experimental work. On the other hand, as in all government services, there is a certain amount of inelasticity and red tape and the ever-present danger of reduced federal and state appropriations.

Some of the best trained women in the field of home economics have held positions in the States Relations Service, either as members of the central staff in Washington or in the field service of the states. The requirements in general are a college education with standard courses in home economics and appropriate experience and personality. The state agricultural colleges have given special attention to home economics training for women, and many of them have strong departments. But even in these colleges, there has been too great a separation between home economics and agriculture proper. There is an increase in the number of women seeking training in agriculture; and there seems no reason why women should not become at least assistant agricultural agents in county farm bureaus as well as home demonstration agents. But even in this capacity they should be able to foster the agricultural interests of farm women to a greater extent than they often do at present.

There are opportunities for young women with good training and some supervised field work to become county agents with little other experience. It seems desirable that the agricultural colleges should work out some system of practice training for their women students in agriculture and home economics in connection with county farm bureaus. Such students might serve as assistants during the summer. State and district leaders need administrative and organizing ability of a high type, the spirit of educators, and a sympathetic and shrewd understanding of the rural populations among which they work. Where there are foreign elements in these populations, they have a chance to develop

a sound kind of Americanization work. There is likely to be increasing local participation and control in county agricultural work; and the experts concerned need a belief in the principles and practices of democratic leadership. The county is coming to be used as a satisfactory unit of administration in various movements for rural betterment,—education, health, recreation. Even in the New England States, where the town is the chief administrative unit, the county offers the chance for healthy competition among the smaller communities of which it is made up and an escape from local prejudices and jealousies.

The county home demonstration agent works side by side with the county agricultural agent or agents, hitherto always men; but her special concern is with women and girls in farm homes, and with the various problems of rural household management. She organizes and addresses clubs; holds institutes; prepares exhibits; gives canning, cooking, sewing and textile demonstrations; encourages budget-making and thrift; helps toward the introduction of household conveniences and laobr-saving methods of work. If she has agricultural training, she may also render assistance in those phases of farm life with which women are most closely concerned—gardening, poultry, small fruits, bee-keeping, certain aspects of dairying. She can hardly fail to deal with matters of home health, especially on the side of proper nutrition. She must be courageous, resourceful, generously human, and physically robust, as she has to go about the county in all kinds of weather, often by automobile. In many respects her work is like that of the rural public health nurse; and, in fact, in the country as in the city there should be close coöperation between home economics workers and public health workers. They both have to meet stubborn country prejudices as well as fine country self-respect and independence; and they both learn perhaps quite as much as they teach. No one who does not like country life and country people should enter either service.

The war-time experiment of city home demonstration agents under the States Relations Service was too brief and too exceptional to justify discussion here. But there seems a place waiting for an expert worker who should assist

city populations in advantageous purchasing and who should have back of her the various efforts of the Department of Agriculture and the states to improve storage and marketing facilities and to establish direct connections between agricultural producers and city consumers.

Of thirty state home demonstration leaders in the north and west, two are paid $1,800; two, $3,000; the majority about $2,500. The average for the thirteen state leaders in the south is probably somewhat lower. The salaries of assistant state leaders run from $1,500 to $2,750; of county home demonstration agents from $1,400 to $1,800 and occasionally to $2,500. Traveling expenses and maintenance while away from headquarters are also provided. Of six women filling our schedules in 1918, the assistant director of the extension division of a southern state, in charge of home demonstration work, received $2,500; the state home demonstration agent in a New England state, $1,600; the state director of girls' clubs in a New England state, only $1,200; one New England county home demonstration agent, $1,400; another, only $1,020, a war-emergency city home demonstration leader, $1,800. One has had work in an American and a foreign university; one is a graduate of an eastern college with two years in home economics at Simmons and a year in dietetics at Teachers College; two are graduates of small colleges of good standing with a four years' course in home economics; one is a graduate of a normal school household arts department.

A state leader thus sums up the duties, advantages and disadvantages of her work: "I organize and direct home economics work in the state; give lectures and demonstrations; advise women; and supervise city, county, and district workers. I have an assistant and nine other women working under my direction. The work has grown, and is most interesting. Do not enter it unless you like people and are willing to work. A person must be willing to have irregular hours, often traveling Sunday and evenings. Only a physically strong person should attempt it. All of my education was needed as a background for my work. I would be better fitted if I could have had more training in English composition. Some of my technical training was not correlated as

closely as it should have been with the average standard of living."

Farming and farm management as occupations for professional women are fields about which it is difficult to make authoritative statements. Conditions of farming vary greatly in different parts of the country, and call for different investments of capital and different types of training. Moreover in no occupation does success depend to a greater degree upon personal determination, persistence, and liking. On the other hand, in no occupation is it easier to secure professional training and expert practical advice and assistance. Agricultural colleges, county farm bureaus, and the Department of Agriculture all stand ready to aid. Women with agricultural training may become independent farmers, or may hold salaried positions of various kinds. Farming is the one great industry of the country in which the small individual proprietor still has a place, and is likely to retain it. For the woman who seeks independence, likes country life, is not afraid of hard work and not easily discouraged, there is a real business opportunity in farming, if she will go into it as seriously as into any other business. Like all independent enterprises, it requires some capital; and at present the acute shortage of labor renders it particularly difficult for the woman farmer, since she cannot do as much of the hard work herself as a man can do, although there is not so great a discrepancy in this respect as was once assumed. Farming is not an occupation to be undertaken lightly, ignorantly, nor sentimentally. It calls for constant expert knowledge and the most careful cost accounting if it is to be made to yield even a moderate income.

The 1910 census reported 260,272 women as general or dairy farmers; 7,834 women as gardeners, florists, and nurserymen. Probably most of them were carrying on family farms and comparatively few of them professionally trained in agriculture or horticulture. Over half were widowed or divorced. Since 1910, interest in country life has markedly increased; and war-time undertakings have directed the attention of educated women to agriculture as a profession.

The seasonal work of the Women's Land Army is being continued by the American Land Service for both men and women, in the endeavor to meet the shortage of summer farm labor. The 1915 census of college women showed them in a wide variety of agricultural occupations, from general and truck farmers to cattle-raisers, orange growers, ranchers, Shetland pony breeders. The Women's Farm and Garden Association includes in its membership women in agriculture on a business basis. Since the war, it has been offering scholarships in agricultural colleges for young women with war-emergency agricultural experience.

In 1915-1916 the Bureau of Education reported 5,682 women in agricultural colleges; 38,000 women in agricultural courses of all types, including short winter courses and summer schools, as against 33,891 and 82,000 men respectively. Many of these women, however, were studying home economics, not agriculture, or, in the east, taking advantage of the only state-supported institution for higher education. In that year 135 women received first degrees in agriculture; eight received higher degrees. Until recently, agricultural colleges have been indifferent to women students of agriculture proper. There are two small schools exclusively for women: the School of Horticulture at Ambler, Pennsylvania, and the School of Landscape Architecture and Horticulture at Groton, Massachusetts.

While buying and stocking a farm requires an initial investment that yields no immediate return, this outlay need not be large. The new Federal Land Banks make long loans on easy terms to people genuinely interested in farming; and it is not difficult to borrow money on farm real-estate. The essential thing for a woman going into farming as a profession is to study carefully the farming possibilities of her intended purchase and to know just what she intends to do with it. If she expects to farm on a relatively small scale, she will probably do well to specialize to a considerable extent but also to supplement her main crop or product. She needs to estimate what she can raise with profit, and to study her marketing facilities. The parcel-post and the increasing use of motor-truck transportation are constantly extending rural markets. If her farm is

pleasantly situated, and is near a city, a motor highway, or a college community, she may often add to her earnings by maintaining a tea-room or taking people to board in the summer or over week-ends. If she is near a summer or suburban colony or hotel, she may make direct deliveries of vegetables, fruit, poultry, eggs, flowers, and so save costs of transportation and middlemen's charges. But these things must be definitely planned for. It is also highly important to look carefully into the community and personal resources and opportunities of the neighborhood in which she is planning to buy a farm. In these days no professional woman has a right to go into farming who is not genuinely interested in country people and ready to throw in her lot with them without a tinge of patronage. As a property owner and tax payer she will have a chance to share in community affairs and problems as she could never do if she represented some outside agency. In considering costs of operation and questions of labor, it is necessary to know the amount of coöperation among the farmers of the neighborhood. Is there rotation and perhaps joint ownership of expensive machinery, such as tractors, threshing machines, spraying apparatus? Are motor-trucks ever owned in common? Farmers in this country, especially in the east, are notoriously individualistic; but various coöperative plans are being worked out. Rural coöperative societies, so successful in Denmark and Ireland, would aid both in the purchasing of farm supplies and the marketing of farm products. There are possibilities of farming partnerships among professional women and of small groups of such women buying adjacent farms and sharing certain expenses and equipment.

For neither men nor women with little capital is farming a profession that commonly yields a large money return. But investment and income in agricultural pursuits vary so widely that it is hardly safe to make general statements. A background of farm life and some actual farming experience in a salaried position are invaluable assets in addition to even the best professional training. The Leland Stanford Junior University bulletin on *Vocational Information* (1919) says: "When it comes to working one's own

farm there are so many kinds of farming—truck gardening, grain farming, and poultry raising, all with prompt returns; stock raising, which requires a relatively large investment unsecured by land; and fruit growing, which requires a long wait—and so many scales on which one may farm, that it is simply impossible to fix a sum requisite for a safe beginning. A considerable initial investment without previous farm life would be a very doubtful asset. With farm experience one can safely go into business for himself with a very small capital by renting." *Vocations for Business and Professional Women* says: "Few women have made fortunes; many a bare living. An income of $1,000 to $1,500 a year in addition to living is as much as the average woman expects to get." An intensive study of opportunities in agriculture in Massachusetts for both men and women made in 1914 by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union[1] reveals financial and other difficulties as they existed before the war; and presents a somewhat gloomy picture. It may well be read by those with roseate conceptions of the possibilities of farming. But in these days the prospect of even a "bare living" in addition to an assured home in healthful and beautiful surroundings, congenial and independent work, and neighborhood interests and affiliations, is making a powerful appeal to many courageous professional women.

For women professionally trained in agriculture who are not willing or not ready to take up independent farming, there are a growing number and variety of salaried positions. The teaching of agriculture in the schools has been greatly stimulated by the war and by the efforts of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the School Garden Army of the United States Bureau of Education, the National War Garden Commission, and other agencies. The demand for trained teachers of agriculture, both men and women, exceeds the supply. This work is carried on in rural high schools, in agricultural vocational schools, and in the upper grades of rural elementary schools. The school-and-home-project method is increasingly used. It frequently involves the teaching of applied science and mathematics. Many cities and towns employ school-garden directors and

[1] *Vocations for the Trained Woman.* Part 2 (1914).

supervisors, who often combine this work with teaching. There is also a growing call for directors of community gardens under the auspices of civic or social organizations. Here a training in social work and in survey and exhibit methods is desirable in addition to agricultural training.

Professionally trained women are finding increasing opportunities as farm and garden managers. While the largest number of these openings are probably in institutions for delinquent or defective women and girls, they are also to be found in other institutions caring for women and children, in certain private schools for girls, in connection with industrial and commercial organizations, and on private estates and farms. The war accustomed employers to the idea of women in these posts. Certain women of training and experience have established themselves as farm or garden consultants. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between the woman landscape architect or gardener and the woman agricultural consultant. But the first has to do with the planning and planting of an estate or garden in connection with the architect; the second with the direction and supervision of continuous practical operation.

Institutional work requires an active and informed interest in the educational, correctional, and therapeutic effects of farm and garden work and the ability to direct and control the groups of workers handled. It provides valuable experience on both the agricultural and the human sides. Work in private schools or on private estates calls for special personal and social qualities. Several of the larger schools for girls now maintain farms both for supplying the school table and for the instruction and recreation of the students. Some of the positions on large private estates are highly specialized. The professional section of the United States Employment Service received a call for a "young woman skilled in poultry work both theoretical and practical, who has had a course in poultry culture in some agricultural college; for an estate where besides poultry there is a pheasantry with different kinds of pheasants. There are also pea-fowls, ducks, and bantams, and it is intended this year to add swans." A young woman

was recommended who had had the required training and experience as farm manager in a fashionable school for girls, so that she was presumably familiar with the ways of wealthy employers, if not with all the lordly birds mentioned. Factories in the country are employing women to direct agricultural and garden work for their employees. Railroads maintain demonstration farms and gardens, as well as landscape gardening around their stations.

Salaries in agricultural work vary according to the kind and amount of responsibility. Those paid in institutional work are low, seldom more than $1,200, or $1,500; but they include maintenance. The Federal Board's Opportunity Monograph on *Farm Management as a Vocation* says: "The salary paid is proportionate to experience and efficiency and commensurate with that of other callings. It may be small at the start, but will increase with efficiency. Commonly farm managers and superintendents are receiving annually from $1,000 to $3,000, and on large estates often $4,000 or $5,000, with many perquisites, such as dwelling, garden and truck land, fuel, and the privilege of keeping a cow, pigs, or poultry. . . . A farm boy, after two years at an agricultural college, took a foreman's position starting at $600 a year and perquisites; the second year he received $900; then became manager at $1,800; and now receives $3,000. In five years he had quadrupled his income." These figures apply to men, but they furnish a useful standard for women.

Of six women in agriculture who filled our schedules, two are independent farmers, and make no statements regarding income. Four are salaried workers, of whom three report salaries ranging in 1918 from $900 and living to $1,200 and living. One is a college graduate with a master's degree from a university college of agriculture; one has had three years of college, a year at the Lowthorpe School, and short courses at a university college of agriculture. One is a Pratt Institute graduate with long agricultural experience; one has studied at leading schools of art and design, and has had university courses in agriculture and in prison problems. A New England dairy farmer has had special courses at her state agricultural college and at Simmons College,

and has worked in private bacteriological and chemical laboratories. The other farmer manages a trans-Mississippi farm of twelve hundred acres devoted to grain and stock raising. A woman with experience in teaching and in supervising agricultural work in a state reformatory for women and in the extension department of a university is manager of a farm in connection with a private school for girls; another is farm manager at an institution for orphan girls; another manages with her husband the demonstration farms of a railroad; another has been manager of a group of gardens at a well-known Atlantic coast summer colony, manager of a single estate, and is now a farm and garden consulting expert.

The dairy farmer says: "I advise business and agricultural education following a good general education. A course in a business school is almost a necessity as a foundation."

A farm manager says: "For best results, take practical farm training before studying at college. I have worked at institutional farm management since I first took a farm position, and have known many farm managers, both men and women, who have had some college experience and are utterly lost at the real work."

The consulting gardener says: "When I had charge of an estate, I did some lecturing and consulting gardening work on the side, after hours and on holidays. By consulting gardening I mean that I was called upon sometimes to lay out a flower garden, sometimes to plant it, or to give advice and remedies on soils, plants, trees, shrubs, or on vegetables or forestry, or to advise on animals and poultry. I am sometimes even asked to buy horses, cattle, and pigs for my clients. Anything coming under garden or farm work is included under my title of consulting gardener. A landscape architect gave me my start in this work by giving me the care of six flower and vegetable gardens for a summer. Since that time, each person for whom I have worked has passed me on to their friends, so that I have had as much consulting work as I could do, along with my other work." The assistant director of a railroad agricultural development station says: "Our work includes practical market-garden,

tree and bush fruit work, dairy, poultry, swine, forage, sugar-beets, nut-bearing, ornamental and shade trees, nursery and vineyard work; practical investigations in marketing and fertilization; entertainment of practical and scientific agriculturists; advising and directing settlers; details of office and data-keeping; lecturing. The business is not run for direct profit. It has trebled tonnage and increased population many fold."

CHAPTER VII

FOOD AND LIVING SERVICES: II

WHILE the dire events of the past few years have driven home the necessity of increased and less wasteful production in both agriculture and industry, they have at the same time revealed the extent to which these processes are hindered by unwise spending and low standards of health and education; and have made clear that the burden of waste and mismanagement of any kind falls ultimately upon the consuming group, to which everybody belongs. Hence we are facing a period of unprecedented attention to the problems of distribution and consumption in the interests of human welfare and productive efficiency. Practices begun because of patriotism are continuing because of the forty-three cent dollar; and we are beginning to realize that many of our old ways of living are not only economically but also psychologically obsolete. The old-fashioned houseworker who "lives in" is being replaced by the worker by the day or hour; arrangements for group living and group feeding are being enormously extended; new systems of wholesale and retail buying of food, clothing, and household supplies are being put into operation; household practices and costs are being studied almost as thoroughly as factory or office practices and costs.[1] There is a new science of individual and group budget-making. A movement is well advanced to have textiles and clothing legally tested and labeled in the same way as food and food products. Cleaning, renovating, and salvaging are becoming scientifically and coöperatively organized. All sorts of specialized "food and living services" are appearing.

[1] A conference on "Group Living" held at Lake Placid, N. Y., in May, 1920, discussed many of these matters.

Under these circumstances, so-called home economics and household arts workers assume a position of new and large importance, and require a thorough professional training of a kind not yet fully available, although it is being actively considered. Experts are emerging who are specialists in the many aspects of improved living conditions; and the professional training of to-morrow must provide for these specializations on a sound common foundation. A profession is developing with as many subdivisions as the engineering profession. Even the terms hitherto used are up for criticism and revision. "Home economics worker" is obviously inadequate, and is compromised by old prejudices; "dietitian" is under fire as too loosely used and too narrow in its proper sense; "visiting housekeeper" is repudiated as failing to distinguish the professional from the non-professional worker. "Nutrition worker," "food expert," and "living conditions expert" appear to be coming into favor; but there is no agreement upon a general term. Perhaps we shall be obliged to fall back upon Mrs. Ellen Swallow Richards's "euthenics," the science of right living or right environments, and shall come to speak of "euthenics workers."

Whatever their future designation, professional workers upon problems of food and living are called upon to-day for a broader knowledge of economic and social conditions and a firmer grasp of business administration and "personnel management" than they have hitherto possessed. They must work in closer relations with the nutrition chemist and other research experts. They must know the correlations of income and health; the food and housing conditions and customs of various racial and occupational groups in both city and country; the facilities for purchasing and saving of these groups—coöperative buying, mail-order buying, savings banks, credit unions, government thrift stamps; they must apply modern methods of budget-making, cost accounting, and salvaging to the living requirements of various income groups. And they must have common sense and a knack of getting on with all sorts and conditions of "folks." This is a large program, combining training in applied science and psychology, social economics, and business ad-

ministration, and requiring constant coöperation with doctors, public health nurses, social and civic workers, public officials, employers, employees, and public groups.

While all professional "home economics" workers are indirectly teachers of better modes of living, they may be grouped as follows: (1) Teachers proper in colleges, schools, other institutions and organizations; (2) consulting and other experts in budget-making, nutrition, textiles, household appliances and practices, under the auspices of hospitals, clinics, health centers, social and civic agencies, banks, government services, consulting firms; (3) directors and managers of group food and living services on a non-commercial or cost basis: (a) residential—colleges, schools, hospitals, reformatories, etc.; (b) non-residential—lunch-rooms and cafeterias in day schools, Christian Associations, government services, social organizations, for employees in factories and commercial establishments, for coöperative neighborhood groups; (4) directors and managers of group food and living services on a commercial or profit-making basis—hotels, boarding-houses, clubs, restaurants, cafés, lunch and tea rooms, cafeterias, catering and cooked-food services; (5) other commercial workers—advertising workers, sales and demonstration managers, purchasing agents, buyers, merchandise managers; (6) journalists, editors, and publicity workers on newspapers, magazines, trade journals, house organs; (7) research workers, investigators, information workers.[1]

Teachers are still the most numerous group of workers in the "home economics" field, and those with thorough training of the modern type are in great demand. The Federal Board for Vocational Education exists partly to further preparation in this subject, and coöperates with directors of teacher training and supervisors appointed in practically every state. Public schools—elementary, secondary, and vo-

[1]For a detailed study of women in this field see *Opportunities for Women in Domestic Science. Vocations for the Trained Woman.* Part 3. (1916). For more recent information, see Melissa F. Snyder. *Possibilities in Home Economics Work. American Journal of Home Economics.* April, 1920. This is based on an inquiry made by the Office of Home Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

cational—offer the largest number of opportunities, although there are also positions in private schools. In high schools, teachers of home economics frequently manage the cafeteria or lunch-room, which also provides practice work for students. Universities, colleges, agricultural colleges, higher vocational institutions of other sorts, and normal schools are broadening the scope of instruction along these lines, and are looking for teachers of the highest professional equipment, who can work out successful programs of academic training combined with supervised field and practice work. Coöperative training arrangements with commercial and non-commercial institutions—hotels, restaurants, hospitals, colleges, and schools—might well be devised along lines already laid down in recent training for industrial and commercial management, retail selling, and the like. Closer relations between schools of home economics and schools of business administration are greatly needed. Teachers are required for classes under the auspices of social settlements, Young Women's Christian Associations, Girl Scout troops, and other social and civic agencies. Some experience in teaching is a valuable asset for every worker in this field. For those who are really qualified, teaching has never offered so fine an opportunity for constructive service in many directions.

Consulting experts and field agents are a group of workers in food and living services practically developed during the war. The activities of the county home demonstration agents of the States Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture have already been described. But everywhere there is a new realization of the intimate relations between nutrition, health, social welfare, and thrift. Home economics workers, social workers, and public health nurses are attacking their problems in coöperation. Plans for health centers include the establishment of nutrition clinics and food and household information services. An association has been formed in Boston for organizing nutrition clinics for delicate children. A Dietetic Bureau has been established in the same city. Brookline, Massachusetts, has a town dietitian. The first bulletin of the federal Children's Bureau's "Children's Year Follow-up Series" is entitled:

"What Is Malnutrition?" The Social Work Committee of the American Home Economics Association formulated in 1919 a statement of the relations between home economics and social work, recommending some home economics instruction in schools of social work; home economics staff experts and family case workers or visitors in social case work agencies; the extension of group instruction in homemaking adjustments through home demonstration agents and schools; and the establishment of a larger number of centers for home economics advising in matters of budget, diet, clothing, and so on. At the second annual meeting in September, 1919, of the American Dietetic Association, proposals were drawn up for social service dietitians for community and public health work and for medical social service dietitians to coöperate with medical social workers in the dietary care of out-patients or patients just discharged from hospitals. It was suggested that training programs be developed jointly by schools of home economics, schools of social work, and hospitals, with provision for adequate practice work. The California Home Teacher Act of 1915 provides for a home economics visiting instructor for non-English speaking mothers of school children. Charity Organization Societies employ visiting nutrition, clothing, and budget experts, and are advocating neighborhood group instruction rather than the slow and costly method of instructing only individual families.[1] It is coming to be seen that expert food and living services of this character should not be limited to families and neighborhoods of depressed economic standards or to the cases of any one society, but should be available for all members of a community and so organized on an independent or public basis. This is one of the great merits of the States Relations Service. Visiting nurse associations, dispensaries and clinics find many advantages in charging small fees for their services, waiving them when necessary.[2] Food and living visitors and

[1] See Florence Nesbitt, *Household Management* (1918); Emma A. Winslow, *Budget Planning in Social Case Work* (Pamphlet, 1919); *Chicago Standard Budget for Dependent Families* (Pamphlet, 1919).

[2] See Michael M. Davis and Andrew R. Warner. *Dispensaries: Their Management and Development* (1918), Chapter 5.

bureaus might well do likewise. This is done as yet only by independent practitioners or firms.

An outcome of the liberty loan and thrift campaigns of the war period, largely carried on through the banks, is the extension of the experiment first made by the Cleveland Society for Savings of employing a home economics expert as adviser to depositors in all matters of home income, budget, and expenditure. Other banks followed this example; and the United States Treasury Department employed some of the leading workers in the field in organizing its savings campaign. The New England District of the Federal Reserve Bank has organized a staff of home-economics consultants. The savings bank section of the American Bankers' Association recently appointed a committee on the subject, and has issued the following statement: "The family group as the economic unit for saving and thrift, rather than the individual depositors in the savings banks, is the basis for certain new phases of savings banking. . . . Considerable experience is now available in savings banks of Cleveland and Pittsburgh, where calls for information on home economics are averaging over one hundred per week in each city. In Maine an expert is operating under the auspices of the State Chamber of Commerce and the Agricultural League, being at each of the coöperating banks during two days of each month. . . . Aside from their strictly business features, the savings banks have certain public service aspects which now are being emphasized. We may refer to the promotion of school savings, the development of savings systems in industrial plants, and the further expansion of work in home economics. . . . It is the purpose of the savings banks section to develop the work in home economics by its member institutions, both active and associate. The section has the assurance of hearty co-operation from all parts of the country." The social bearings of this work, especially with aliens, is obvious.

Another large group of women are concerned with the direction of food and living services in public or semi-public institutions of a non-commercial type,—universities, colleges, and schools; hospitals and sanitariums; institutions for delinquents, dependents, and defectives. They are called

institutional managers, housekeepers, or matrons. Their work commonly involves the hiring and direction of household staffs; the supervision and distribution of supplies, frequently the purchasing of such supplies; accounting; planning of meals; and similar services. Such positions vary from those requiring a high type of professional equipment to those where personal and social qualities are considered of major importance, or where practical experience in managing a household is all that is necessary. This lack of standardization means frequent lack of professional recognition and professional group spirit.

In the eastern colleges for women, posts as heads of residence halls depend for the most part upon personal and educational qualifications rather than upon training; and are not professional home-economics positions. There is an opportunity for the residential colleges to study more systematically than has yet been done the educational and health bearings of their living arrangements and to appoint as director of living conditions a professional woman of the highest type who should rank as a member of the faculty and should coöperate actively with the departments of health, economics, and the sciences, preferably giving some instruction or supervising practice work. Perhaps some alumnæ association or graduate will endow such a post. The idea has been discussed in various quarters, and certain institutions are approximating it in practice. The twelve government residence halls for women workers in Washington, completed since the close of the war and filled to capacity, are a striking example of modern planning and operation.[1] Teachers College of Columbia University has under consideration the establishment of a Bureau of Institution Research similar to the Harvard Bureau of Business Research.[2] A bureau of consultation for hospitals and other institutions has been organized in New York City by an expert in this field.

A recognized group of home economics workers are the dietitians, trained in the food modifications necessary in ill-

[1] *Monthly Labor Review.* October, 1919. *Report U. S. Housing Corporation,* Vol. II (1919).
[2] *Teachers College Bulletin.* December, 1919.

ness of different kinds, at different ages, and under any special organic conditions. Hitherto, they have been most commonly attached to hospitals or to institutions under medical supervision. Many hospitals receive women with home economics training as pupil dietitians for a three months' course, furnishing living and sometimes an apprentice wage. Hospital dietitians direct the preparation of special diets ordered by physicians in charge of patients, and often conduct classes for pupil nurses in elementary dietetics and dietetic cooking, using the hospital diet kitchen as a laboratory. At present, the equipment and professional status of dietitians are unstandardized and unsatisfactory; and the line between them and institutional managers is often hard to draw. Their duties are not infrequently limited to the routine preparing of menus for the entire hospital population. With the establishment of health and nutrition centers and other consulting food services, they are beginning to receive more definite and adequate professional training as nutrition workers. Instruction in the elements of dietetics and of the chemistry of food and nutrition is, indeed, an essential part of all professional preparation in "home economics," and must make constantly available in practice the conclusions of research workers in these fields.

Quantity-feeding undertakings during the war, both in canteen services overseas and in governmental, industrial, and social organizations in this country, have given a command of new techniques in group feeding and a grasp of its problems which are standing us in good stead in these days of high costs and the practical disappearance of domestic service of the old type. The enforcement of prohibition creates a demand for attention on a national scale to problems of better food and nutrition as well as to problems of recreation. It enlists commercial purveyors of food—hotels, restaurants, cafés—as never before the side of improved methods of preparing and serving food. We are entering upon a new period in food and living services, and satisfactory results will be attained only through the combined efforts of scientific, business, and social experts. Even the "new psychologists" will have a hand, since do-

mestic "folkways" are among the most stubborn and difficult to alter.

Cafeteria service, originating in the west, has won universal acceptance, and its techniques are being constantly improved Young Women's Christian Associations [1] throughout the country were pioneers in its adoption, and provide institutes and training courses for their cafeteria managers. Everywhere industrial firms are introducing cafeterias for workers in their plants and offices; and department stores, insurance and public utility companies, banks, and other large corporations are doing likewise. The great Statler hotels from New York to Saint Louis are establishing this service for their employees under the direction of professionally trained women.

A pressing group of problems is connected with the provision of satisfactory food and living service in individual city families, formerly supplied with domestic servants and invincibly attached to meals at home. Although the costs of commodities and labor will undoubtedly become more stable, there seems little likelihood that the family formerly employing one or two servants will be able to return to its old mode of living. In large and expensive establishments the change is less marked, although they will probably be administered more scientifically. City homes at a lower income level furnish the even more difficult problem of a better household food service than that afforded by the corner grocery and the neighborhood delicatessen shop. Various efforts have been made to establish satisfactory cooked-food services both at cost and at a profit; but they are still experimental and only partially successful.

The solution appears to be along the lines of neighborhood service stations adapted to various types of community, with provision for serving meals on the spot and also for sending them out to families within a limited area. Such a station might also supply workers by the day or by the hour or job, rotating on a circuit of households, as laundresses, cleaning women, and furnace-men now do. It might be equipped with laundry, vacuum cleaners, and

[1] In 1920-1921 they maintained 256 cafeterias, and employed 317 trained workers.

other renovating facilities; and provide rooms, cafeteria meals, and training courses for workers who desired them. The plan of "home assistants," [1] who shall have meals and rooms outside of the employer's house, and be paid on the basis of an eight-hour day and a forty-four hour week, is a step in this direction, and needs some such center for its proper operation. A service-station of this sort would require thoroughly enlightened and professional management. In the meantime, women of moderate income and average education who have been accustomed to keep house with servants but are now obliged to do their own work need the services of professional consultants and reorganization and simplification of their household procedures quite as much as do women of lower incomes.

An American Cooked Food Service, delivering complete hot meals in containers to individual families, has been tried out in several cities, but seems unable to meet the difficulty that people all want their meals at the same time, making the cost of delivery prohibitive. Other towns and cities are experimenting with community kitchens and dining-rooms, each family providing its own table furnishings. Some of these have been in successful operation for a number of years. A valuable bulletin entitled *Agencies for the Sale of Cooked Foods without Profit* was issued by the government in 1919.[2] It describes undertakings of this sort in Europe and the United States, and pays tribute to the pioneer work of the New England Kitchen and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union.

The household difficulties of this period of readjustment, the restlessness engendered by the war, and the growing bulk of travel are leading to a notable increase in apartment house and hotel life and to the presence of large numbers of transient or unattached persons in every urban center. Commercial provisions for this state of affairs—hotels, restaurants, lunch rooms—are developing by leaps and bounds. Great hotel systems are being established. Chain

[1] See pamphlet *The Home Assistant.* Central Branch Y. W. C. A. (1920).

[2] Iva L. Peters. Department of Food Production and Home Economics. Women's Committee, Council of National Defense.

restaurants are as common as chain stores. A great specialized business of selling food and giving services is arising, and is bound to become as standardized and efficient as any other type of industrial or commercial enterprise. Hitherto, however, the great hotel interests have been rather notably conservative in certain aspects of management. They are still far behind the more progressive industries with respect to organizing modern personnel departments, research bureaus, and systems of apprenticeship and promotion for young professional men and women who are looking forward to managerial positions and wish to learn the hotel business from the bottom up. They retain a lingering suspicion of college trained men, and are still skeptical and surprised at the suggestion of employing college trained women. Rumor has it, however, that certain hotel interests favor the expansion of the Department of Home Economics at Cornell University into a School of Home Economics, coördinate with the School of Agriculture. At least one large hotel in New York employs a scientifically trained woman as food and storage inspector, and has supplied her with a laboratory. It has a special women's floor managed by a woman with a professional conception of hotel service. The Statler group of hotels are employing professional women to manage their food service for employees; and are enthusiastic over the results. Another large New York group has had a woman employment manager. A woman is buyer for the candy stores of another group; and the manager thinks women would be successful in other kinds of hotel buying. A woman is traveling auditor for a group of hotel restaurants. Another assists in the publicity and promotion department, and edits a daily sheet of hotel news. In fact, women are not infrequently employed in this type of hotel work. In the housekeeping departments, professional women are seldom found, those in managerial positions commonly rising from the ranks. A manager received with interest the suggestion that an expert in textiles would be of value. While professional women here and there are successfully managing summer hotels and small residential or apartment hotels, the large modern city hotel is still practically unexplored territory. But all signs point to its

occupation in the near future, if women will be prepared to learn the business as men learn it.

Women are already successfully managing restaurants and lunch rooms for customers in department stores. The *New York Times* recently carried an advertisement for a woman manager at a salary of at least $5,000 for an out of town store. A woman is manager of a well-known restaurant for men in the financial district in New York, and a college woman has owned and operated one successfully in Boston. Women have carried on large catering establishments, and they have run innumerable lunch and tea rooms, some of them professionally managed. The food shop and lunch rooms of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union in Boston have long demonstrated that such enterprises may be both scientifically and profitably conducted.

A commercial field calling for women trained in "home economics" is the advertising and wholesale selling of food products and household goods and appliances. Some of the large packing companies and other food manufacturers maintain "domestic science" departments in charge of experts who conduct information services, issue booklets of recipes and instructions, carry on correspondence courses, and direct demonstration sales-agents. A recent example is the California Packing Corporation, which announces the establishment of the "Del Monte Domestic Science Department" with a series of lesson leaflets for the use of schools. Women played a considerable part in the famous "battle of the baking-powders." Producers of household goods and textiles are inaugurating similar advertising services. Professional women have not hitherto gone to any extent into "outside selling," but with the growth of professional training and standards in salesmanship it offers an opportunity to those with business aptitude and acquaintance with both the manufacturing and the consuming ends of food and household products. A woman familiar through long residence in China with certain fibers found only in that country was recently employed at a high salary by an importing house to sell this product to manufacturers.

There is also an undeveloped field for women in whole-

sale buying. Professional women with training and experience along these lines may before long find an opportunity to combine their business and social interests in the employment of the coöperative societies which are so rapidly developing in this country.

Another form of commercial "home economics" work is found in journalistic or editorial positions with household magazines, household departments in newspapers, or appropriate trade journals. The food and thrift campaigns of the war greatly stimulated the demand for authentic information. Some of this work is done as "special writing" on a space basis rather than on a salary. It pays well. The editors of certain "women's magazines" are among the most highly paid professional women.

Investigation of conditions affecting standards of food and living and research into their problems are carried on by the Department of Agriculture, and to some extent by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. On the economic side, the Bureau of Labor Statistics makes an important contribution through its cost of living and wage studies and through its monthly index numbers of the prices of food and other household commodities. Its recent minimal budgets for government clerical workers, meager as they are, are practically the only non-industrial budgets available,[1] and furnish a useful basis of comparison in the process of revising clerical and professional salaries, now going on everywhere. The new Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia has also made an important and much needed study of the wages of hotel workers, in Washington, and has established a minimum living wage with a money equivalent for room and meals.[2] State minimum wage boards and state departments of labor are making similar useful studies. Research is also carried on by uni-

[1] *Quantity and Cost Budget Necessary to Maintain a Family of Five in Washington, D. C. Monthly Labor Review.* December, 1919. *Quantity-Cost Budget Necessary to Maintain a Single Man or Woman in Washington, D. C. Monthly Labor Review.* January, 1920.

[2] Clara E. Mortenson. *Minimum Wage for Women in Hotels and Restaurants in the District of Columbia. Monthly Labor Review.* March, 1920.

versities, agricultural colleges, and experiment stations; by endowed nutrition laboratories; by industrial research bureaus.[1] In a number of cities and a few states women are serving as official food and market inspectors. In some cities, organizations such as women's city clubs and women's municipal leagues carry on supplementary or "follow-up" inspections. New York City has a woman deputy commissioner of markets who is a consultant in home economies.

Employment in these many types of food and living service is secured through institutions giving professional training; through civil service examinations; through bureaus of occupations; through direct application to health, social, and civic agencies, industrial and commercial firms; sometimes through professional associations or journals.

Sixteen "home economics" workers filled our schedules, of whom eleven reported salaries ranging from $1,200 to $4,500, with a median salary of $1,800.[2] Twenty women in charge of college halls of residence also replied; but their duties are social and practical rather than professional. Their salaries ranged from $500 to $1,300 in addition to maintenance. Three of the sixteen are teachers. One has recently organized a home-economics department in a state university, and is in charge with the rank of associate professor. She is an authority on textiles. A second is instructor in textiles and clothing in another state university, supervising laboratory work in the chemistry of textiles. A third is teacher of science as applied to home economics in the post-graduate department of a large private school for girls. One is superintendent of the dining-service in a leading technological institute for men. Another is director of school luncheons in an organization supplying this service to nineteen city high schools and normal schools. Two are with the Young Women's Christian Association. Three are in commercial food services, one as manager of the

[1] See *Food of Working Women in Boston.* Studies in Economic Relations of Women. Volume X. Women's Educational and Industrial Union. (1917.)

[2] See Melissa F. Snyder. *Possibilities in Home Economics Work. Journal of Home Economics.* April, 1920.

employees' lunch-room in a great department store; another as manager of food service for both customers and employees in one of the largest department stores in the country; a third as manager of a restaurant in a metropolitan office building. One is manager of the food-service advertising and demonstration department in a great chemical corporation. Three are in executive and research positions in the federal government. Two are consultants in home economics. Ten of these women are college graduates with professional training in home economics; three have the master's degree; others have done graduate work in food and nutrition chemistry and dietetics. Three are graduates of Pratt Institute. Several others have had special work at Simmons, Teachers College, the University of Chicago.

A teacher says: "Get thorough science training and lots of economics, in both cases straight unmodified university courses. Specialize on top of this, but not at the sacrifice of either. I became interested in home economics from the economics standpoint. I have had to feel my way. I was sidetracked for several years by the fact that I attended —— College for a year, and was there told that home economics had no cultural value. It took me some time to see its real value again."

The director of school lunches says: "Get as broad training as possible—science, economics, sociology, specializing the last two years in home economics and making the most of every opportunity in practical work. Be willing to take a position with small salary at first, if in a well-managed organization."

A graduate in home economics in charge of a department store lunch-room says: "Get a little practical experience before you begin to study. I wish I had had far more practice work even at the expense of theory."

The manager of an institutional dining-service says: "Train well in business and financial details and in organization. Dietetics is secondary. You need an understanding of general economic conditions, of how to handle human nature, tact, impartiality, firmness."

The manager of the food department in a manufacturing

corporation says: "Do not ask favors. Do work in which you are interested conscientiously. See where you can help the whole organization by putting aside personalities . . . I employ and direct women for advertising and sales work; edit booklets, recipes, advertising copy, and so forth; go on diplomatic missions to various cities and people, etc., etc."

An editorial and administrative worker in the Department of Agriculture says: "In my opinion the next most important developments in research along lines of home economics will be in the general economics of consumption and the chemistry and physics of the materials used in clothing and household equipment. At the same time positions in institutional management dietetics and the commercial preparation of food will increase in number and in the amount of salary paid. Home economics advisers for banks, industrial and social-welfare organizations may also become more numerous."

Another federal executive says: "Specialized positions such as mine need technical home economics training combined with teaching experience and executive and administrative ability. I make recommendations to the chief of the division as to matters of principle and policy involved in carrying out the work of home economics education throughout the states. I prepare matter for consideration by the staff conferences, and work out with the federal agents plans for the work of the agents in the field and at the home office. I find the most helpful thing in my professional training the research work which developed the initiative to work independently at a problem."

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNITY, CIVIC, AND GOVERNMENT SERVICES

DURING the war practically all communities in the United States developed a new civic consciousness and new civic resources and techniques. They took stock of themselves with respect to their men of draft age, their remaining labor-supply, their industrial or agricultural production, their food, their health, their contributions to war loans and war "drives" of various kinds. Through systems of quotas, percentages, and zones, they learned to compare themselves with other communities and other sections of the country. They became units of national organizations through Red Cross chapters, community councils, community labor-boards of the United States Employment Service, local undertakings of the War-Camp Community Service. They looked with new eyes upon existing local provisions for community betterment, devised plans for their closer coöperation, and raised "war-chests" for their support. Much of this activity was spontaneous; but much of it was instigated from above, and there was undoubtedly an excess of hastily organized "supervision."

Natural reactions from high-tension effort and an all too effective publicity must not blind us to the solid and permanent gains from the war period. Communities have learned to take a cross-section view of their interests and activities, to work out programs for joint action, to call upon federal and national agencies for information and advice and upon experts of various kinds for practical leadership. They have come to recognize that social and economic maladjustments are not the exclusive concern of a group of people known as "social workers," to be dealt with through private or public philanthropy, but the concern and responsibility of citizens as a whole.

Active interest in community and civic matters is by

no means altogether a product of the war. For a number of years there have been associations of citizens concerned with one aspect or another of local public welfare—better local government, better schools, better housing, industrial and commercial development, improved city planning, more parks and playgrounds, higher standards of commercial recreation. Civic federations, city clubs, municipal leagues, citizen's unions, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, public education associations, and so on, have devoted themselves to one or more of these causes; have prodded and exposed slothful, ignorant, or dishonest city governments, supported demonstrations of better methods, backed progressive city ordinances and state laws, and seen to it that they were enforced. In general, they have been, perhaps, more ready to work *for* the community than *with and through* the community; and have been made up for the most part of leading citizens in business and the professions and of women of leisure and public spirit. The work of their voluntary committees has been increasingly directed by professional executive secretaries, and they have frequently employed experts to make surveys and prepare reports.

Another type of community action is to be found in the federations of social agencies which have been established to provide opportunities for conference among different groups of workers and to encourage a comprehensive rather than a piecemeal attack upon local social problems. Some of these federations, as in Cleveland, began before the war to raise a single fund for all social purposes, and thus furnished a model for the war-chests and community chests that are now so prevalent. Such federations have educated social workers in the community aspects and bearings of their own problems; have brought home to the community as a whole its social assets and liabilities; and have furthered mutual understanding between the business and the humanitarian groups. Central councils of social agencies, undertaking administration, are rarer, and less universally approved.[1]

[1] See Francis H. McLean. *The Central Council of Social Agencies* (Pamphlet, 1920).

In all movements for civic betterment women have played an active part, at first through women's clubs and more recently through women's municipal leagues, women's city clubs, and the like. Many of these organizations have salaried civic secretaries. The long struggle for the franchise has been an invaluable education to women in public policies and procedures; and local suffrage organizations have identified themselves with enlightened civic movements and enlightened state legislation. Through their work for suffrage, women have learned the advantages of efficient organization, of concentration upon definite programs, and of persistence in campaigns of education and publicity in spite of rebuffs and discouragement. A large body of women, many of them in active professional life, enter upon full citizenship with valuable experience in dealing with legislatures and public officials and with a unique insight into the workings of the two main political parties. The new element in the electorate is already providing for its own further education—and that of others—through state and national Leagues of Women Voters, and promises a substantial contribution of fresh thinking and uncommitted action to the work of political reorganization now facing the country.

In political matters it is to be hoped that men and women will learn as soon as possible to work together as citizens. But it must be admitted that for the present women form a distinct and in large measure politically inexperienced group. No other large body of voters contains so many members who are not "gainfully employed." Professional women with understanding of political principles and practices and their bearing upon civic welfare and progress, and with an ability to secure the coöperation of various groups, are already in demand as political organizers and campaign managers, directors of political education, research and publicity workers in the political field. They are working in connection with political parties, old and new, and with men as well as with women voters. Such women require special preparation through courses in political science and government and through field training and experience with civic and political organizations. Some of the Leagues of

Women Voters are providing intensive courses for leaders. As yet, this sort of work grows out of other professional experience, and hardly offers the prospect of an independent professional career.

Professional women, however, need to face their new political opportunities and obligations more fully than they have sometimes faced their civic responsibilities in the past. They have not infrequently been so much engrossed in their own work and in establishing their own professional status that they have left the direction of these matters to untrained women and then have wondered why they were carried on so ineffectually. They should not only occupy the paid executive and expert posts just described, but should actively seek positions, paid and unpaid, on public boards and commissions, and should stand as candidates for public office. In the equal suffrage states of the west, women have already been elected to various positions. The offices of state and county superintendent of schools seem to be especially reserved for them; and they have served as members of state legislatures, as justices of the peace, overseers of the poor, and so on. But in the future women throughout the country will undoubtedly hold a much wider range of offices, and will seek election to city councils, state legislatures, and the Congress of the United States, of which two women have already been members. The next few years will see an unprecedented body of social and economic legislation, and the views of enlightened women will be needed in the shaping of laws dealing with human relations and human satisfactions.

In both suffrage and non-suffrage states women have to some extent served on state boards of education, health, charities, labor and industries. They have been more frequently appointed to the newer industrial and welfare commissions, minimum wage boards, bureaus of women and children in industry, and the like. The Department of Labor lists thirty-three women who are members or paid executives of state or federal industrial and labor services. Women are executive secretaries or directors of five western industrial welfare commissions; of at least three minimum wage boards; of eleven departments concerned with

women and children. The chief industrial statisticians in New Jersey and Wisconsin are women. Three women head federal services—Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Mary Anderson, director of the new Women's Bureau, both in the Department of Labor; Mrs. Frances Axtell, chairman of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission. A newspaper woman, Mrs. Helen Gardener, has recently been appointed as one of the three Civil Service Commissioners. A woman lawyer is an assistant attorney general. Since given the vote in 1917, New York women have been appointed to a number of important state and city posts. Miss Frances Perkins, an experienced industrial investigator, is a member of the State Industrial Commission at a salary of $8,000. A former executive secretary of the Consumers' League is chief of the bureau of Women in Industry of this commission. There are three women on the state board of charities. But as yet there is no woman among the twelve regents of the University of the State of New York, forming the state board of education. New York City has two women on its reduced board of education of seven members, women deputy commissioners of police and markets, a woman city magistrate, a woman assistant district attorney. These are all political appointments of the present mayor. In Mayor Mitchel's administration, New York had its first woman head of a city department in the person of Dr. Katharine B. Davis, who was commissioner of corrections. Denver has had a woman commissioner of charities.

Everywhere qualified women should serve more commonly on administrative boards, especially on school boards, library boards, hospital boards. They should be members of workmen's compensation and health insurance commissions, of boards of inquiry and adjustment, of advisory boards in any system of public labor exchanges. The detachment of women from large industrial and commercial interests and their intimate knowledge of the problems of everyday living should enable them to contribute an element of fair-mindedness and practical sagacity much needed in all such bodies.

The three community problems upon which attention is

focused at present are housing, recreation or the uses of leisure time, and the much advertised and exploited topic of "Americanization." More in the background but pressing for attention is the question of the labor market and its organization through some kind of public employment service.[1] The acute shortage of teachers and the progressive deterioration of the schools are challenging community action throughout the country. And enveloping and affecting every specific problem is the general situation created by the shrinkage of the dollar and the demand for a more democratic organization of human relations in civic life and in the professions as well as in the industries.

Three organizations are conspicuously offering themselves to communities as providing means of dealing with some or all of these problems. They are Community Service, Incorporated, the peace-time successor of War-Camp Community Service, itself a mobilization of the Playground and Recreation Association; the National Social Unit Organization; and the American City Bureau, a business enterprise engaged in promoting civic activities chiefly through chambers of commerce. Community Service is incorporated under a charter enabling it to enter any field of social betterment, but it announces that its primary function is the "initiation of leisure time activities," including under this term all activities, recreational, social, educational, and civic, carried on outside of school hours or hours of employment.[2] It plans to undertake work in a given community only upon invitation and to act as an organizing and correlating agency and a clearing-house of information on subjects within its province. Each community is to organize its own Community Service, to provide for a permanent community service secretary, and to form representative governing and advisory committees not identified with any one community agency. The educational and civic programs of Community Service Incorporated are still largely in the making. Its organization

[1] See Don D. Lescohier. *The Labor Market* (1919).

[2] See John L. Gillin. *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time* (1918); Frederick G. Bonser. *School Work and Spare Time* (1918), Cleveland Foundation.

is left purposely somewhat indefinite, but it affords opportunities of various kinds to both men and women workers with recreational, social, and civic training and experience along accepted lines of affiliated and auxiliary service.

A more intensive and novel community program is put forward by the National Social Unit Organization, illustrated by its three-year experimental demonstration in a neighborhood of thirty-one blocks in Cincinnati, with a population of about fifteen thousand. The object of this venture was to try out a plan of neighborhood organization whereby "popular control would be actual and active, yet where community affairs would be completely handled." The social unit system involves a series of block councils, each electing an executive, and a series of occupational councils made up of workers resident or serving in the neighborhood—doctors, nurses, recreational workers, teachers, social workers, ministers, and trade unionists are organized in Cincinnati—each with a similar executive. The block executives form the citizens' council; the occupational executives, the occupational or expert council; the general council consists of both bodies meeting together; the council of executives, of the presiding officers of the three bodies. Through this system "the people can tell the experts what they want done and the experts can advise the people how to do it." "The block workers study needs and reflect popular desire and psychology, carry information to the total population, bring back facts and ideas from the whole district, decide broad policy, and turn to the occupational council for the formulating of programs to satisfy needs discovered and policies adopted." The plan looks to the ideal of an entire city organized into coöperating social units.

The Cincinnati social unit has attracted a large amount of attention, and has been attacked as involving subversive political principles. It has invited the careful examination of groups of experts representing medicine, public health nursing, social service, labor, business, and the church,[1] who have reported generally in its favor and recommended fur-

[1] *The Social Unit Plan* (1920), National Social Unit Organization.

ther demonstrations in neighborhoods of different types. The Community Councils in New York City are coöperating with the National Social Unit Organization in plans for local units. Whether social units can be sustained on a self-supporting basis and whether they are adaptable to various communities remain to be seen. But they represent a piece of constructive social planning which deserves close study and which is in line with other plans for democratic local organization and control—shop committees, labor guilds, coöperative societies. Their challenge to social and civic thinking comes at an appropriate moment.

Largely through the efforts of the American City Bureau, an organization of community experts and campaign directors, chambers of commerce are becoming active in civic affairs and developing a broader community outlook. Since its origin in 1913 the Bureau has reorganized a large number of chambers to carry out definite community programs under the direction of civic secretaries. For several years it has conducted a summer school of community leadership for secretaries, beginning with an attendance of fifteen in 1915 and reaching three hundred in 1919. It began in 1920 the publication of a bi-weekly sheet entitled *Community Leadership through the Chamber of Commerce,* and is coöperating with Community Service Incorporated in the movement for community buildings as war memorials and with educational authorities in the campaign for better schools and better salaries for teachers.[1] It organized the first financial campaign of War-Camp Community Service.

Chambers of commerce are knit into a national system through their membership in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States with headquarters in Washington. With their strongly commercial origins, interests, and membership, they have naturally been held to represent the business interests of the community and to be practically powerful organizations of employers. As such, they have often been regarded with suspicion by civic and social workers and with open hostility by organized labor. While

[1] See *Know and Help Your Schools.* American City Bureau (Pamphlet, 1920).

it would be unfortunate to allow them to dominate community undertakings, their new civic spirit and policies invite a closer coöperation with them than has hitherto obtained. They should be represented in the management of community affairs together with all other organized groups, labor unions, social agencies, professional associations, schools, libraries, churches, and the city government. Certain chambers are including representatives of organized labor on their civic committees. *The Survey* reports a novel arrangement in Aberdeen, Washington, where, as a result of war-time activities and by mutual consent, organized labor has undertaken to support the social services of the town—visiting nursing, home service, community service, boys' and girls' clubs, and so on—and the chamber of commerce to attend to matters of general prosperity—harbor improvements, new industries, and the like.

Chambers of commerce are very generally promoting housing and Americanization programs and working for better roads and better marketing facilities. But their civic interests are highly diversified.[1] With the growth of these community activities, they are beginning to see the advantage of women members and of paid women workers. Of 139 secretaries replying to an inquiry made by the American City Bureau regarding the attitude of their chambers toward women, the large majority stated that they admit women, and have women members on some twenty different kinds of civic committees. In a number of places the recently organized Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs is coöperating with the chamber of commerce. Several cities have independent women's chambers, which have formed a national organization. But the tendency appears to be in the direction of a single chamber for both men and women. Hitherto, most chamber of commerce secretaries have been men, although there have been a few women secretaries in the smaller communities and a number of women assistants in larger places. A woman is joint director with her husband of the industrial service department of a chamber of commerce in a middle-western city. These opportunities are likely to increase, and

[1] See Lucius Wilson. *The New Profession* (1919).

they should appeal to women who are interested in the applications of business intelligence to civic problems and in a better understanding among different elements in the community.

Various other agencies are actively concerned with community and civic affairs. The Open Forum Movement, originating in Boston, is spreading under various auspices. The Interchurch World Movement has made a series of community surveys to study the distribution and efficacy of protestant churches and their relations to other community endeavors. For thirty years social settlements have been dealing with neighborhood problems, and have a wealth of experience to contribute. In a sense, they were the pioneer community centers, and have been steadily moving in the direction of assisting communities to organize their own activities. They have made invaluable local studies, and share experience through the National Federation of Settlements. The College Settlements Association of the eastern women's colleges has responded to the spirit of the times by becoming the Intercollegiate Community Service Association with a membership of nineteen colleges and a number of private schools. It offers fellowships for training in community social work. Several settlements, such as South End House in Boston, do likewise. No better apprenticeship can be found for a beginner in community work than a sojourn in a well organized and modern settlement house. Before the war the movement to use schoolhouses as community centers had gained considerable headway.[1]

The multiplication of community organizations and the greatly increased interest of communities in their own affairs are leading to active community investigation and research, to the making of numerous surveys and studies of special problems. The techniques of such inquiries have been worked out by bureaus of municipal research and kindred organizations on the side of public administration, finance and accounting, and by great endowments like

[1] See Henry E. Jackson. *A Community Center—What It Is and How to Organize It.* Bull. U. S. Bureau of Education, 1918, No. 11. L. J. Hanifan. *The Community Center* (1920).

the Russell Sage, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations. The pioneer bureau of municipal research in New York City, established by public-spirited citizens, has been followed by others in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, and elsewhere, by state and national research bureaus under similar auspices, by libraries of municipal and legislative reference. Fifteen or twenty such research bodies are federated in the Governmental Research Conference.[1] The departments of surveys and exhibits and education of the Sage Foundation have made surveys of Springfield, Illinois, and of the educational situation in Cleveland. Cleveland has made a recreation survey, and is at present making a hospital and health survey with a staff of experts of national reputation. Other surveys of various kinds are constantly undertaken. Experienced professional women have been members of both permanent and temporary staffs, as assistant directors, field investigators, statisticians, special librarians, makers of graphs and charts, organizers of information services and of exhibits. A number of women gained valuable experience of this kind in government service during the war. The techniques of survey-making and of preparing graphs and charts and exhibit materials of various kinds constitute what is practically a profession in itself, allied with statistics on the one hand and publicity on the other. These methods are increasingly in demand by industrial and commercial organizations.[2]

One of the most urgent and practical community movements is that for better housing and more adequate control of housing projects, in the past too often in the hands of greedy and competitive private interests. Although the fundamental importance of decent housing had been fully recognized by experts before the war, and housing laws of a restrictive nature had been passed with more or less adequate provision for inspection, housing as a community problem had not caught popular attention nor led to commu-

[1] See Gustavus A. Weber. *Organized Efforts for the Improvement of Methods of Administration in the United States* (1919).

[2] See E. T. and Mary S. Routzahn. *Exhibit Methods* (1919), and Mary S. Routzahn. *Traveling Publicity Campaigns* (1920). Willard C. Brinton. *Graphic Methods for Presenting Facts* (1914).

nity action. High land values and land speculation, the establishment of new industries, the crowdings and shiftings of population, and the large profits made through rents under such conditions all conspired to confuse the issues and to block progress.

But the acute shortage of houses due to the practical cessation of building during the war, the mounting scale of rents, and the widespread interest aroused by the rapid building of cantonments, the industrial housing projects of the United States Housing Corporation, the Shipping Board, and various war industries, have brought the whole matter home to the public mind as never before. The towns and cities that sprang up almost over night to meet the needs of great munition and chemical plants have thrown a flood of light not only upon industrial housing but upon ordinary housing for the mass of people of small means and even upon the hardly touched topics of rural housing and the temporary housing of migratory workers. They have likewise proved that the most modern dwellings and shops do not make a satisfied and self-active community without places for public gathering and opportunities for public recreation. The Report of the U. S. Housing Corporation of the Department of Labor is a mine of information, presenting the results of the best European and American experience and describing housing projects completed or under construction at the signing of the armistice. Cities all over the country are studying their housing needs and launching housing projects with the aid of state and municipal appropriations or through coöperative associations. They are taking over in some cases uncompleted government enterprises. Wisconsin has recently passed a municipal and coöperative housing law. The California Immigration and Housing Commission is handling the difficult matter of housing seasonal and migratory workers. Akron, Ohio, has a five million dollar housing program.[1] Undertakings on this scale involve comprehensive town and factory planning and civic and social studies of many kinds, calling for various professional experts.

[1] See *Homes for Workmen.* Southern Pine Association (1919).

Women have long been active in housing reform, and a few, like Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, have been leaders of the movement. A recent valuable summary is written by a woman.[1] They have made housing surveys and served as tenement house inspectors and rent collectors. In 1917 New York City had nine women tenement inspectors, three of them detailed to instruct tenants. Women have collected rents for such organizations as the Octavia Hill Association in Philadelphia and the Trinity Corporation in New York, as well as for real estate firms.[2] With the present developments in community housing, they will undoubtedly have still wider opportunities. But they will need thorough preparation, not only in social economics and city government, but in the elements of hygiene and sanitation, building construction, administration, and finance. Some knowledge of law as it relates to rents and contracts will be desirable. Special courses for housing workers are as yet hard to find, although housing problems are treated in university and college courses and in schools of social work. Women interested in work in connection with housing will do well to seize every opportunity afforded by positions of an indirectly apprentice character, not only with social and civic agencies but also with firms of contractors, architects, and real estate dealers. (See Chapter XIV.)

Closely allied with housing and city or town planning as community problems are the problems of community provision for recreation in its narrower sense and for the other uses of leisure time. The announcement that Community Service Incorporated is to work chiefly in this field has already been mentioned, but many other agencies are active. The changes brought about by the general shortening of working hours, by prohibition, and by improved standards of health and education will create new recreational and community interests and activities of many kinds. Dr. William Mayo said not long ago to a great

[1] Edith Elmer Wood. *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner* (1919).

[2] See Mary R. Beard. *Women's Work in Municipalities* (1916), Chapter 6.

gathering of surgeons that since the close of the civil war fifteen years had been added to the average length of human life, and that fifteen more might be added in this country within the next twenty years. There is a chance today to apply for the first time in modern life Aristotle's test of citizenship, the right employment of leisure. Just as society cannot afford to prohibit child labor without at the same time providing adequate schools, so it cannot afford to reduce hours of labor without at the same time providing adequately for the spending of the time thus set free. This provision, according to newer ways of thinking, must include commercial [1] as well as non-commercial recreation—the motion-picture house, the theater, the dance-hall, and the pool-room as well as the playground and the community center. It must include facilities for adult education through more democratic and effective methods of university extension, through trade-union colleges, open forums, clubs, classes, and lectures, many of them held in community buildings, perhaps through an American adaptation of the British Workers' Educational Association.[2] It must include the growth of civic intelligence through the active participation of all groups in community affairs and enterprises. It must continue and develop recreation for children and young people through playgrounds, Boy and Girl Scout organizations, Christian Associations, self-governing clubs and societies under various auspices. And everywhere it must guard against the danger of forcing upon people what certain groups think they want or ought to want, rather than letting them determine what they want for themselves. Active communities will learn to regulate and improve their own commercial recreations, and there seems every prospect of a vigorous development of community drama, music, pageantry and festival. (See Chapter XVI.) Recreation leaders and workers are more

[1] See John J. Phelan. *Motion Pictures as a Phase of Commercialized Amusements* (1919).

[2] See *Adult Working-Class Education in Great Britain and the United States.* U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Bulletin 271 (1920). *Final Report Adult Education Committee.* British Ministry of Reconstruction (1919).

needed than ever, but motives and methods are steadily growing more democratic and less philanthropic. Training in physical education, dramatics, games, folk-dancing, and woodcraft is of great assistance. (See Chapter V.)

"Americanization," the word in every one's mouth to-day and the most urgent civic problem in popular estimation, can be dealt with fairly only against the background of community activity in general. Although it means different things to different people, and is being advocated by all sorts of groups, official and non-official, from a variety of motives and with a bewildering variety of methods, the nucleus of truth and common-sense amid the floods of talk and propaganda appears to be that the problem of the foreign-born and non-English-speaking resident, whether citizen or alien, is essentially a community problem, and must be dealt with as an integral part of other community problems. "Americanization" is not merely a matter of naturalization nor of teaching English and civics to foreigners. It involves better schools, better housing, better health conditions, steady employment at decent wages and hours, facilities for recreation, prompt and cheap securing of legal justice; freedom of every group from discrimination and exploitation; participation of every group in community affairs. This is an "Americanization" program that applies to native-born and foreign-born alike; and any community not striving to put it into practice falls short of being truly American and truly a community. "Pockets" of ignorance and isolation and poverty and ill-health and helplessness are an arraignment of any community, whatever its racial composition. The *Americanization Studies* just completed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York[1] reach the conclusion that the all-important thing to strive for is the uniting of native and foreign born in America through unceasing efforts to improve living and working conditions and through deepening the channels of mutual understanding, coöperation, and good will. No country in the world has so rich and so diverse a racial composition, and each of its groups has something to contribute. During the war our newer popu-

[1] *Americanization Studies.* Eleven Volumes, 1920, ——.

lations showed a touching desire to share burdens and obligations. In numerous ways they are Americanizing themselves through their own leaders, and this should be encouraged. But we of the older stock need to strive to understand their psychology and to help them to understand ours in all the ways of common living. They offer us a unique opportunity to see beneath the surface in dealing with international problems and to play our part intelligently in the new society of peoples. Only by fair dealing and respect and patience and social imagination on both sides shall we build a nation that is truly made up of all our racial elements.

In the meantime, federal and state governments have been drafting Americanization programs and passing Americanization legislation. State and local boards of education, chambers of commerce, employers, churches, libraries, associations of citizens of all sorts, have been working independently or coöperatively and with inevitable duplication and confusion. Occasionally they ask the help of organized labor and of the foreign-born groups themselves, or make studies of local foreign populations. It seems generally admitted that evening schools do not meet the situation. Day classes in English and citizenship are being organized in factories, sometimes under the supervision of the board of education, but frequently not. The Young Women's Christian Association has some fifty so-called international institutes for work with foreign women and girls. The Council of Jewish Women is active in immigrant aid. Universities and schools of social work are offering courses in "Americanization." Normal schools and state boards of education are conducting classes in the teaching of English to foreigners. The University of Minnesota has outlined a four-year program; the University of Wisconsin and other institutions offer separate courses. The College of the City of New York announces lecture and field extension courses for teachers and social workers on the social and cultural backgrounds of the peoples of Greater New York. Columbia University has extensive plans for research courses on social and political conditions in France, Russia, England, Germany, the Americas, Japan and India.

The enormous amount of publicity given to these projects and activities has filled the minds of many young women with a strong desire to become "Americanization workers." But there is as little room here for the inexperienced as there is in the equally popular occupation of employment management. Successful workers in this field have gained an understanding of foreign groups through service among them as teachers, social and community workers, librarians, nurses, investigators; and it is in one of these professions that the novice should learn through daily contact. With vigorous community development "Americanization" will become largely a by-product, and we may hope to find ourselves sharing in the reality and hearing much less of the term.

A community matter attracting far less attention at present than the three movements just described but underlying them all and demanding careful consideration and wise action in the near future is the matter of modes of securing employment. The meteoric rise and fall of the War-Emergency United States Employment Service, which within a year incorporated the few existing state employment systems, and established nearly nine hundred offices throughout the country only to have them closed through lack of support from Congress, has left behind as much prejudice as enlightenment owing to its war-time haste and extravagance and to its bi-partisan control by management and labor, each group accusing the other of undue influence. But some method of organizing the labor market is seen to be a world need; and with England strengthening her employment exchanges, Canada organizing a system, and the first international labor congress providing that each nation ratifying its convention "shall establish a system of free employment agencies under the control of a central authority," the United States is brought face to face with the question of setting up a satisfactory permanent public employment service. Employment, like education, is primarily a community problem, and like education, it should be kept out of politics and made the concern of all citizens and not only of the parties immediately concerned. "Community labor boards," or whatever take their place,

must be as non-partisan as school boards and as representative of all essential public interests. Here, as elsewhere, the "public" needs to be a reality and not merely a convenient fiction. Women have a necessary place on such boards. In a well organized system, the states would function chiefly as clearing-houses in the distribution of workers; the federal government chiefly as a clearing-house of information and a maintainer of standards. Public employment service has already revealed itself as a coming profession, and any adequate system should provide a carefully worked out plan for training. It offers one of the very best opportunities for constructive community and personal service, and should attract a high type of worker. It continues the work of the schools, and is essentially "case-work" dealing with adjustments rather than maladjustments. Communities just now could do nothing better than to make thorough studies of the agencies dealing with employment with which they are provided at present,—the character and profits of fee-charging agencies, the efficacy of philanthropic and educational agencies, the methods of industrial and commercial personnel departments. We need to know their cost in terms both of actual money and of time and human effort. Public employment service as a profession is dealt with also in Chapters XI, XVII, and XX.

Twelve women in community and civic work filling our schedules received in 1918 and 1919 salaries ranging from $1,300 to $4,000, with a median salary of $2,250. They include the director of a community center in a city public school, two executive secretaries of civic clubs with both men and women members, an executive secretary and editor in the Open Forum Movement, a chamber of commerce secretary, a lecturer and director of research on immigration in a school of social work, a director of a department of extended use of public schools, four field investigators and research workers in an Americanization study, and a lecturer on current events. Eight of them are college graduates, three with graduate work and one a doctor of philosophy. Of the other three, two have had some college work. Three have had courses at schools of social work; one at a school for community workers; one at a graduate school

of public health; one at the Eugenics Record Office; one at a business school. They have had previous experience as teachers, educational executives, social workers and investigators, industrial health inspectors, industrial investigators, suffrage organizers, tenement house department workers, journalists, statisticians, court reporters.

The executive secretary of a city and county civic club says: "I plan and direct the work of twenty-four different committees, working on twenty-four different kinds of work. Do not spend too much time on details; touch the high spots; develop system and team work. There are very few women civic secretaries, not more than a dozen well-known ones. There is splendid opportunity in this line now."

A western chamber of commerce secretary says: "I manage the office, which includes a free employment agency, answer correspondence, keep records, and direct activities. During the harvest season I kept the office open from 5 A. M. to 11 P. M. I was given the same salary as my predecessors who were men. In fact a man was fired to make room for me. If possible, take special training for this work, and take first a position as assistant to an efficient commercial secretary."

The open forum secretary says: "I arrange for speakers, place advertising, write newspaper notices, interview musicians and others who desire engagements, edit organ of the Open Forum Movement. The only hope for this movement is to rouse the community to the value of the work. Energetic young women might help in this."

A worker on an Americanization study, assigned to special investigation of the foreign languages press and theater and of immigrant heritages, says: "I interview editors of foreign language papers, engage and handle staff reading these papers, chart statistics in graphic form, and so on."

The civil service, federal, state, and municipal, as affording opportunities for professional women, is taken up at this point partly because civil administration is undertaking to deal with many community matters discussed in this and

other chapters, and partly because it is public and civic service in the most explicit form. Specific civil service positions are so varied in their nature that they are more appropriately considered in the several chapters. But all branches and departments of government are becoming employers of professional workers. The federal civil service is usually first thought of in connection with the term, but there are ten states and some two hundred cities with a classified service. Recent reorganizations of state administration, such as those accomplished in Illinois and Ohio and proposed in New York and Massachusetts, have added to the number and quality of professional opportunities. The federal government is to-day an employer of practically every type of worker. The Congressional Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries in the Washington Federal Services found 2,066 different titles of positions, although not all of them represented different types of work.

The Report of this Commission, issued in March, 1920, presents a well-considered plan for the long and sorely needed reorganization of the federal civil service. It groups the 107,060 government employees in Washington in 1,762 classes, 376 series, and 44 services, assigning the same titles and salaries to persons doing the same type and grade of work, wherever they are found in government employment, in place of the present hodgepodge of differences and inequalities. It provides personnel specifications of duties, qualifications, main lines of promotion, and rates of compensation; and recommends that the plan be extended to the federal civil service outside of Washington; that the Civil Service Commission be made in a full sense the central personnel and classification agency of the government, with a comprehensive and uniform employment policy; that an advisory council, made up in equal numbers of administrative officers and non-administrative employees, be established and authorized to organize similar personnel committees in each government department or service; that the principle of equal pay for equal work be consistently adopted; that the Civil Service Commission be empowered to establish a definite system of promotion based upon efficiency ratings and examinations, to take measures to

provide for the training of employees in service, and to recommend from time to time the revision of salaries and wages. It points out the present injustices in salaries, due to the fact that some are fixed by statute, and others are paid from "lump sum" appropriations. While the bill drawn by the Commission to put its recommendations into effect has not yet been passed by Congress, the report is an important contribution to the movement backed by both political parties to modernize the federal administration, and is bound to have significant results.

Meanwhile, the numbers of professional women and college graduates, trained and untrained, who were in government service during the war in capacities ranging from routine clerks to heads of bureaus, assistants to executives, and research and statistical experts, have called the attention of this group to government service as a career, or at least a valuable professional experience, and the attention of the government to professional women as a useful labor supply. Not a few war-workers, both men and women, have remained in government employment; and a new spirit of independence and initiative is manifest throughout the entire federal civil service. The Federal Employees' Union includes members of the highest professional standing, and has made concerted protest against the inconsistencies and irregularities of salary and promotion, as well as outlining policies and programs. The Reclassification Commission and the National Civil Service Reform League have both urged the giving of civil service workers a voice in determining the conditions of their own employment.

Several studies have recently been made of existing discriminations against qualified women in federal, state, and municipal civil services. The Federation of Women's Civil Service Organizations has circulated widely a pamphlet entitled *Women's Place in Civil Service*,[1] based on a study of civil service commissions of the three types and showing that (1) women are often arbitrarily excluded from civil service examinations; (2) even when women appear on eligible lists, the appointing officer, practically always a man, has the right to specify sex; (3) separate eligible lists of

[1] May B. Upshaw (June, 1919).

men and of women are frequently maintained. The pamphlet says: "Under many Commissions women are not permitted even to be examined for work of any but a subordinate character, and mainly in the old fields that have always been open to them, stenography, nursing, teaching, and institutional labor."

An even more important bulletin, *Women in the Government Service,* has been issued by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.[1] It is based upon a careful study of federal civil service examinations held during the first six months of 1919, and shows that during that period sixty per cent of these examinations, covering 155 types of position out of a total of 260, were closed to women, and over sixty-four per cent of examinations for professional positions. On the other hand, all but seven clerical examinations were open to them. Five days after this report was submitted to the Civil Service Commission on October 27, 1919, the Commission issued a ruling opening all examinations to women but still reserving to the department appointing officer the right to specify sex in asking for eligibles for a given vacancy. The Women's Bureau, however, points out that the Congressional legislation giving preference to ex-soldiers at lower civil service ratings than civilians would give women no chance of appointment whatever if this were not allowed. There are already some 55,000 soldiers on the lists. The Report also shows that of 8,000 appointments during the months of January and February, 1919, one hundred men and two women received initial salaries of $3,600 and over. In clerical services more women than men were appointed in proportion to their numbers on the eligible lists; in higher services, 30 per cent of the eligibles were women, and only 15 per cent of the appointments. In positions where the entering salary is not fixed by statute, women commonly begin at a lower salary than men of like qualifications. This is partly due to their inferior bargaining power, since applicants are asked to state the lowest salary which they will accept.

In spite of the situation revealed by these reports—in

[1] Bertha M. Nienburg. Women's Bureau, Bull. No. 8 (1920).

fact largely because of them, since they are certain to lead to correction of obvious inequalities of treatment,—the outlook for professional women in the civil services has never been so encouraging. But there is need for continuous vigilance and publicity and for further local studies such as the study of *Opportunities for Women in the Municipal Civil Service of the City of New York* issued in 1918 by the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations. The Women's Bureau, the Federation of Women's Civil Service Organizations, and the Women's Auxiliary of the National Civil Service Reform League might well combine on a program.

Women in the federal civil service filling our schedules report salaries ranging from $1,500 to $4,500 plus official traveling expenses, with a median salary of $2,310. They include executives, scientific and economic experts, field supervisors, special agents, librarians, and chief clerks in the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the States Relations Service, Bureau of Markets, and library of the Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service of the Treasury Department, the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Women in state civil services report salaries ranging from $1,500 to $2,500 and living with a median salary of $1,980. They include a state supervisor of mother's aid, a director of food and drug inspection and a bacteriologist in state departments of health, a state factory inspector, and superintendents and resident physicians in state institutions. Women in municipal civil services report salaries ranging from $1,350 to $5,100 with a median salary of $2,100. They include directors of a bureau of child hygiene and a vocational guidance bureau, the secretary of a board of children's guardians, the secretary of a board of estimate, civil service examiners, estimate examiners, a lawyer in a city legal department, a director of extension use of school buildings, a probation officer, and three policewomen.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL SERVICES: I

WHAT is popularly known as "social service"—or "social work" as its practitioners prefer to call it, though they are casting about for another name—is taken up at this point for several reasons. It is hoped that treating it between chapters dealing with public health, food and living conditions, and community organization on the one hand and chapters dealing with personnel management, industry, and education on the other, may best serve to bring out the many affiliations of "social service" and the forces now at work transforming its scope, outlook and methods. A lively exchange of workers and ideas is going on among these several fields, and they are all striving in one way or another to put into practice prevailing views regarding individual behavior and the more democratic management of group affairs.

Modern "social service" is not a single, homogeneous occupation but a cluster of "social services," each with its own problems, training, and techniques. We hear nowadays far less of social work in general and far more of child-welfare work, boys' and girls' work, family case work, "home service," industrial work, rural work, protective work, vocational guidance, mental hygiene, social legislation, and so on. Much that was formerly carried on frankly as "social service" is now conducted under other names and other auspices. A double process is going on whereby social ideals and practices are pervading long established professions such as medicine and teaching, and at the same time certain "social services" such as community work and "industrial welfare work" are setting up as independent professions and repudiating "social service" motives and di-

rection. There is a growing sensitiveness to the use of the term as savoring of sentimentality and philanthropy instead of justice and as only a step removed from the "charity" which the charity organization societies are dropping from their titles.

On the other hand there have never been so many "social workers," so many opportunities and plans for training of a professional character, nor so many discussions of the status of social work as a profession. All this invites renewed attention to the question: Is there a profession of social work with certain principles and standards operative in all the various "social services" and meeting fundamental human needs as they are met by the professions of medicine and engineering? This book cannot do more than call attention to divergent views, which may be summarized as follows: (1) the view that social service is a transient and self-extinguishing profession, made necessary only by the present faulty organization of society;[1] (2) the view that social service is a mediating occupation without final professional authority and responsibility;[2] (3) the view that social service is an emerging profession, at present sloughing off its non-professional attributes and finding its permanent professional justification. The third view was advanced more than ten years ago by Dr. Richard C. Cabot and is set forth in a recent volume by Professor Arthur J. Todd.

Dr. Cabot holds that "the essence and center" of social work is "the study of character under adversity," and that "the true business of the social worker is psychical diagnosis and treatment," to know "the psychology of the hard-pressed."[3] He has recently given more explicit grounds for this position. "The profession of the social worker . . . has developed in the United States mostly within the past twenty-five years. Probably ten thousand persons are now so employed. It is known by various titles—social worker, school nurse, home and school visitor, welfare

[1] See Vida D. Scudder. *Opportunities for Women in Social Service*, in *Vocations for the Trained Woman*. Part 2 (1914).
[2] See Abraham Flexner. *Is Social Work a Profession?* (1915).
[3] *Social Service and the Art of Healing* (1909), Chapter 2.

worker, hospital social worker, probation officer—varying according to the particular institution—the hospital, the court, the factory, the school—from which it has developed . . . yet the same fundamental motive power has been at work in each case. . . . It has become more and more clear, in the last quarter of a century, that we are dealing with people in masses so great that the individual is lost sight of. . . . Above all duties it is the function of the social worker to discover and to provide for those individual needs which are in danger of being lost sight of."[1] Dr. Cabot likewise makes it abundantly clear that only "as an expert, as a teacher, or as a pupil" can the social worker deal with people on a basis of mutual respect. The "professional friend" or the "professional good neighbor" imply almost as much patronage as the "lady bountiful" and far more unreality.[2]

Professor Todd says: "Modern social reform movements and social work represent a series of concrete attempts to define and redefine the rights of man." "The individual is not, then, a natural product; he is the product of civilization; and civilization is social achievement."[3] In his opinion, "Social work ought to stand for organizing scientifically the forces, personal and material, of a community in such a way as to eliminate waste and friction, and to raise progressively the capacity of every member for productivity, service, and joy in life." It will become a profession when social workers have "the will to think clearly and to know profoundly."[3]

Both writers thus point out the inherent human need which may be said to furnish a basis for a legitimate profession of social work—the gap between individual social equipment and the demands of organized society. Reference has already been made to the growing realization that modern industry and modern civilization in general afford few outlets for powerful "instinctive trends" deeply rooted in man's physical and mental make-up. All the "rights

[1] *Social Work* (1919), Introduction.
[2] *Social Service and the Art of Healing* (1909), Chapter 2.
[3] *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work* (1919), pp. 2, 25, 65, 70, 107.

of man"—the right to health, the right to justice, the right to education, the right to family and group relations, the right to work, the right to leisure, the right to religious and artistic satisfactions—have an instinctive basis, and are essential to the normal life and development of every human being. To guarantee some of these rights the great professions and government itself exists; others have been left to the inclination and effort of the individual. But as things are now, this does not mean that the individual secures them. Especially are man's simple social instincts and outgrown social traditions a meager resource for the achievement of normal and adequate family and neighborhood and civic life amid the complexities and barriers and pressures of modern civilization. Unguided and unsupplemented, they are bound to result in failures, perversions, and maladjustments of many kinds. Just because of this gulf between man's original social nature and the elaborate world in which he finds himself is the professional social worker, the expert in social relations, critically needed. It is perhaps allowable to alter Dr. Cabot's definition of social work to the study of character under *"complexity,"* since this term covers the difficulties inherent in prosperity as well as in adversity. Both need expert treatment.

Social work as a profession has two different but supplementary aspects. To Dr. Cabot the social worker is primarily the expert dealing with individuals as affected by social conditions; to Professor Todd he is primarily the expert dealing with social conditions as they affect the lives of individuals. One emphasizes what is commonly called "social case work";[1] the other, what is commonly called "social mass work"—with groups and communities, through organization and legislation.

Social case workers and social mass workers are learning that not only must they frequently report their plans and findings to each other, and mutually check results, but also that both must invite the genuine participation of the public and of the people most intimately concerned. Without this triple alliance, the worker with individuals runs

[1] See Mary E. Richmond. *Social Diagnosis* (1917), and the new monthly, *The Family.*

the danger of becoming enmeshed in routine details and of dealing with people as "cases" in the abstract rather than as human beings; the worker with groups runs the danger of pushing ready-made programs; both run the danger of that arrogance of mind which has been the besetting sin of all professions and which largely accounts for the popular distrust of "the expert." A new sense of "the public," or rather, of many concrete "publics," is one of our assets from the war, although it is still too frequently employed in the interests of a dubious kind of publicity and with the assumption that the public is a passive body.

As society is now constituted, both social case work and social mass work include education, relief, and prevention. In the past case work has centered about relief; mass work about prevention. But the distinction is far from rigid. Many social enterprises require both types of worker; more are likely to do so in the future. It is coming to be generally recognized that relief work is an emergency measure, a sign of acute maladjustment calling for drastic improvement in conditions; and that social work as a profession must emphasize educative, preventive, and positively constructive social measures.

As the last chapter has shown, many forms of group or mass work are ceasing to be known as "social service," and are being dealt with as community and civic matters by public and private bodies not identified with social agencies as such. State and local governments, chambers of commerce, employers and labor unions, professional organizations, educational institutions, are all coöperating in programs for housing, health, "Americanization," recreation, better schools, better markets, employment exchanges, and so on. These movements are not thought of as philanthropic any more than public education is thought of as philanthropic. They are not for the obviously handicapped alone but for the benefit of the entire community. But already they are finding that the will to community action is by no means the same thing as bringing it to pass; and they are clamoring for expert directors, advisers, investigators, research workers, "civic engineers." Community affairs can be successfully handled and tested, group spirit

and intelligent management can be encouraged only by experts in social relations who know the conditions which govern satisfactory and progressive joint action as well as the reasons for failure. Other experts—doctors, town-planners, municipal research experts, teachers, public officials, employment managers—all contribute; but they are too much involved in their special problems to make the working of the whole their primary object. Hence, there is a growing demand for civic or community leaders and expert workers with groups of various kinds. As yet, their professional equipment is hardly equal to their responsibilities and opportunities, although training courses for community workers are springing up. With the present tendency toward the social self-direction of groups and neighborhoods, they are likely to be increasingly employed under the local government or by community councils, coöperative societies, labor unions, and the like. They are already being called in as consultants.

A similar enlargement and shift of emphasis toward prevention and construction is going on in the coextensive field of individual or case work. Social case workers have long been looked upon as practitioners concerned with the diagnosis and treatment of personal and family social ills and disorders, as the physician with bodily and mental ills and disorders. Dr. Cabot draws a striking parallel between the two, and insists that there must be "team-work" of doctor, educator, and social worker, and that all three must be teachers and psychologists.[1] Case work was the pioneer type of social work in the modern sense, and has made a distinctive contribution through bringing group resources to bear upon individual needs. It has suffered from perhaps inevitable preoccupation with the obviously dependent or handicapped, so that the term has come to be unduly associated in the popular mind with this group. A permanent benefit of the Red Cross home service arises from a wider extension of case-work methods to individuals and families ordinarily maintaining their social integrity and only temporarily disorganized by war-time conditions.

But case work is being more fundamentally strengthened

[1] *Social Service and the Art of Healing*, especially Chapter 3.

by several independent movements, the social bearings of which grow steadily more apparent. Chief among these are (1) the mental hygiene movement, which deals with emotional and volitional conduct disorders and their prevention; (2) the movement for intelligence tests of people of different educational and occupational groups to discover inferior, average, and superior native ability; (3) the vocational guidance movement, which seeks to relate individual aptitudes and occupational requirements and resources; and (4) the employment or personnel management movement, which seeks to utilize the results of the first three movements in promoting industrial productivity and the personal satisfactions of the individual worker. All these movements are based on the case work view that expert study of the individual is requisite for satisfactory adjustments and readjustments in practically every type of social situation. It is a theme for the satirist that persons who would shudder at being considered "cases" in the ordinary social service sense plume themselves upon having been "psycho-analyzed" or "mentally-tested." The psychiatrist and the psychologist are doing to some extent for the well-to-do what the case worker has done for the poor. They strongly reënforce the view that preventive and educational work must begin with the child; and also give warning of the damage done by clumsy and unskilled handling of problems of personality and conduct. "Case methods" are being applied to the exceptionally bright as well as to the exceptionally dull, and to individuals of every educational and economic level, with the object of releasing capacity as well as of reducing incapacity. In this larger sense, teachers, vocational counselors, public employment workers, personnel workers, all persons who carefully study and direct the behavior of individuals, are case workers. The establishment of health and other neighborhood centers is making possible the instruction of small groups to supplement or take the place of the slower instruction of each family or individual.

One of the obligations resting upon professional "case workers" of every kind—doctors, lawyers, psychologists, as well as social workers—is that of reporting at intervals

case data as a basis for comparisons and conclusions. A valuable "case history series" dealing with various medical fields has already appeared, and there are "case books" of law and economics. A similar series of case books dealing with the different fields of social work would be of great professional value to students and practitioners. An innovation only recently contemplated but much needed is a series of "case histories" dealing with so-called "normal" individuals and families. We know infinitely more of the delinquent girl than we do of the "straight" girl, of the psychopathic person than we do of the non-psychopathic person. Dr. Helen Woolley's studies of boys and girls going to work offer something of the sort, and a recent English study of eight hundred working men and women of Sheffield shows what might be done in this direction.[1] Here, colleges, normal schools, and schools of social work might help.

A practical classification of social work recently prepared by the National Social Workers' Exchange brings out clearly the main divisions of the profession and the diversities in each. It likewise shows the interrelations of social work and other professions, and includes certain types of work which in this book are dealt with as separate allied fields or at least debatable territory. Its six main divisions are as follows: (1) Social Case Work (work with individuals); (2) Social Group Work; (3) Social Reform Work (work with people as a mass); (4) Social Research Work (the discovery and use of facts); (5) Industrial Work; (6) Specialties.

Under social case work it includes child welfare work; church visiting work; family case work; medical social work; occupational therapy; probation, protective, parole, and prison work; public health nursing and visiting; psychiatric social work; school visiting; visiting housekeeping; vocational guidance (in educational institutions only); welfare work (see Industrial Work). This list indicates that what used to be considered the main type of case work, that done by charity organization societies with families in social and economic difficulties, now takes its place as only one among many types, "family case work." In view

[1] *The Equipment of the Workers* (1919).

of recent analyses of family psychology and its effect upon children, work with families may be at the point of enlarging its scope and enriching its techniques. The American Association for Organizing Charity has changed its name to the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, and is being followed by member societies throughout the country. And no case workers of any type, including teachers, can afford to be ignorant of the quarterly entitled *Mental Hygiene,* issued by the National Committee of that name.

This classification divides what has been discussed as social mass work into group work proper—with "face-to-face" or local community groups—and social reform work with the public at large. Under the first heading it places "Americanization" activities, work with communities, community centers, clubs, settlements, playgrounds, general and industrial recreation work, physical training. Under the second, it places reform along civic, housing, industrial, and legislative lines; publicity and financial work; public health work, including nursing, tuberculosis work, social, child, and industrial hygiene. Under research work, it places investigation, research, preparation of surveys and exhibits, and social statistics. Under "specialties," it places workers whose training is in other fields but who are employed under "social" auspices—workers in agriculture, community singing, domestic science, dramatics, eugenics, financial campaigns, administrative heads and matrons in institutions, linguists, mental examiners, nurses, physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, registrars, secretaries, workers with special racial groups. It calls attention to the fact that "There are, or may be, executives, organizers, propagandists, field workers, publicity and financial workers, research workers, teachers, and rural and urban workers in all of these groups." [1]

The classification is based upon actual calls for workers coming to the National Social Workers' Exchange, and covers activities all loosely included at the present time under the term "social work." But the development of

[1] Edith Shatto King. *Social Work as a Professional Opportunity. Journal of Education,* April 29, 1920.

social work as a profession is apparently in the direction of closer definition and a demarcation of coöperating and progressively socialized fields, somewhat as they are marked off tentatively in the chapters of this book. Public health work, for instance, although much of it was initiated by social agencies, is not to-day primarily a field of social work. Community and civic work in their various forms are assuming an independent status. Industry is repudiating the term "welfare work." In fact, practically all forms of group work are being more and more carried on under the auspices of the people concerned or at least under the name of the special object in view. In case work, distinguishing terms are being applied. Before long, we may have as many kinds of social worker as there are kinds of engineer and with qualifying words as commonly used. In the future, social workers may be recognized as specialists in the social relations of individuals or groups, and, as such, be attached to organizations and institutions of many types, rather than to "social agencies," or be retained as consultants. Hospital social workers, visiting teachers, are now so attached. Separate "social service agencies" may become social research bureaus, information services, and services of consultation and audit, called in to plan for satisfactory social relations in any kind of public or private enterprise and to examine periodically their success in operation. Such expert services are common on the material side in commerce and industry, and are now being extensively established to deal with problems of labor management, the new "industrial relations" services. All this means that the human aspects of any situation are coming to be considered as an integral and not a supplementary and external part of the handling of that situation. To maintain the professional standards of social work, Professor Todd urges that "time ought to be definitely allowed in a worker's schedule for periodical checking up. Disinterested experts should be called in occasionally as auditors are in business or municipal research experts in public affairs, or as the Life Extension Institute proposes for its members, for a sympathetic stock taking of our technical and spiritual resources. Teachers of methods of social work should in-

clude ways of self-testing and analysis which can be used as barometers." [1]

If systematic preparation and continued self-improvement of its practitioners are essential marks of a profession, social work is well on its way to that title, although it has not yet reached the standards of medicine, law, and engineering. It was not until 1904 that the first full-time training school of social work was established, the New York School of Philanthropy—lately changing its name to the New York School of Social Work. Its course was at first one year in length, extended in 1911 to two years, and based at least nominally upon college graduation or its equivalent. There are five other independent schools of social work, situated in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Richmond, and St. Louis. Most of them have affiliations with adjacent universities and colleges. Higher academic institutions have been steadily developing their graduate and undergraduate courses in the social sciences, and several of them have established professional schools of social work. The six independent schools and nine universities and colleges have organized an Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work with the purpose of further developing standards of training. There is greatly increased attention to supervised field work as a necessary part of training, and to social research and social publicity. Institutions emphasizing these aspects of training have come into existence: the New School for Social Research in New York; the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate School of Social Economy of Bryn Mawr College; the Smith College Training School for Social Work at Northampton, Massachusetts.

An educational inheritance from the war period is the policy adopted by some of the large national organizations of establishing intensive training systems for their own workers, both as "vestibule schools" and for those already in service. The most conspicuous example of this is the Department of Civilian Relief of the American Red Cross, which is continuing its "home service" work on a peacetime basis in communities without other social case work agencies, and has made arrangements with over thirty uni-

[1] *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work*, p. 130.

versities and colleges for courses ranging from three months to a year in length, theoretical work taking one-half the time, under the college department of sociology, field work taking the other half under an experienced social worker, temporarily attached to the faculty. The Red Cross likewise holds "institutes" at educational institutions for its workers in service. "Community Service, Incorporated," and the Salvation Army have also established training systems. The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations has had a national training school for secretaries since 1908. All these special "training systems" are in line with developments in the industrial and commercial fields; but they are better adapted to workers with some experience than to beginners.

The problem of volunteer assistants in social work does not properly enter into a discussion of professional workers, except in connection with their professional supervision and their value as a means of educating the public. Social agencies are of many minds regarding their efficacy and economy. There is much to be said for the position that a worker cannot be a satisfactory volunteer without some experience as a paid worker. Many social agencies, however, especially charity organization societies, have in the past made use of "volunteers in training," who were really unpaid apprentices. The trend of opinion and the best usage seem to be in favor of paying workers in training an apprentice or scholarship wage unless they are students in educational institutions doing the work as supervised field or practice training, and sometimes in this case also. It appears to be generally recognized that workers need a broader background than that furnished by any one organization, and that a coöperative training system involving the college or school of social work on the one hand and the field institution or organization on the other is the wiser arrangement. Bryn Mawr College provides both unpaid and paid practical experience for its graduate students—unpaid as a practicum for a certain number of hours each week during the college year and paid through actual positions during the summer months or for a period of six months after an initial year of college residence. The

Smith College School for Social Work provides resident instruction during two successive summers and eight intervening months of supervised practice under some approved social agency.

The part played by the college undergraduate course in preparation for social work is still a matter of some difference of opinion. A large although dwindling number of social workers are without college degrees, including some of the leaders; and many college graduates have become social workers without further training. But the pioneer and experimental period is over. College graduation, including certain specified courses, is coming to be a prerequisite, and further training of one, two, or even three years to be considered essential to the highest professional standing. There are already correlations between salary and the amount of general and professional education.[1]

Both large social organizations and individual social workers filling our schedules emphasize these requirements. A metropolitan family case work society in the east says: "Our experience leads us rarely to engage a case worker or executive who is not college trained. We employ many graduates of the schools of social work; and give them the preference."

A similar society in the Middle West says: "We are putting forth every effort to employ in the responsible position of district visitor only college women, and also in addition, college women who have had the technical school training, such as the School of Civics, etc. We find that very few women who have not had college training or at least some portion of a college course have a sufficiently trained mind to be valuable in social case-work. The technical school is the *sine quâ non* of success in this work."

The American Red Cross says: "Home service workers need a good general educational background—a college course and then a professional course of a year or longer. College women are given preference in professional positions."

[1] See *Expenditures and Salaries of Case Workers. The Family.* March, April, 1920.

A national society says: "College training or the equivalent is practically a necessity."

A state child welfare agency says: "We would rather employ college women than non-college women."

Leading women social workers, some of whom lament their own lack of college and professional training, give advice of the same nature:

"Prepare first by a college course; then by a course in a school of social work."

"Take very thorough university and school of civics training, stressing sociology, economics, and applied psychology."

"Secure college training plus training in some school of social work with two or three years of practical experience."

"Take special training, and take first a position as assistant to an efficient secretary."

Higher education to-day is drawing a clear although not rigid distinction between undergraduate work as liberal and pre-professional and graduate work as specialized and professional. (See Chapters XX and XXI.) Most professional occupations, including social work, are following the lead of medicine and specifying certain undergraduate courses as "pre-professional" to their particular type of training. The head of a school of social work not long ago prepared the following statement of training recommended as desirable for social workers: "(1) College education or its equivalent. Desirable preparation in the undergraduate work, looking toward vocational training, includes courses in social economics, political science, biology, psychology. It is assumed, of course, that there will be good training also in the use of English. The above is all pre-vocational training. (2) Vocational training should include at least one year's work in a professional school which should include courses in statistics, social case work, community work, and a substantial amount of supervised field-work."

There are educators who think that only social observation and reporting should be done by students during the undergraduate course; that field work and practice work may be profitably undertaken only by graduate students of

greater maturity with the background of a liberal education and under the supervision of especially equipped teachers whose work is so arranged that they have time and strength for intensive instruction and field direction of small groups.[1]

There are other educators who think that mere observation is too passive and unselective a process, and that undergraduates in their last two years of college work and in advanced courses may profitably begin to study social situations and data at first hand and to plan courses of action in relation thereto. But the purpose of undergraduate field work is preliminary and initiatory, to show the range of materials and to open up methods of dealing with them. Its object is to establish first contacts, to give a certain orientation with regard to a profession, not to train for that profession. Since it must always be kept primarily educational, it is limited chiefly to investigation and to certain forms of group work. It can bring the student to a first-hand realization of the need for case work and to the study of its requirements. But it can hardly with fairness embark upon its difficult and delicate practice.

Apart from term-time observation and field work in connection with college courses, the undergraduates of today are being given various opportunities to make preliminary contacts with the practice of social work through excursions, visits, and conferences during the Christmas, spring, or summer vacations, or through what are coming to be called "student vacation apprenticeships"—positions of a routine and sub-professional character in social agencies—settlements, vacation homes or camps, child-placing organizations, and so on. In 1917 and 1918 the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston arranged a three or four days' program of visits to social agencies and institutions, conferences, and talks by leading social workers for selected undergraduates of the women's colleges. Since 1917, the Charity Organization Society of New York has invited small groups of not more than ten

[1] See Bryn Mawr College *Announcements* (1919-1920). Carola Woerishoffer, graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research, pp. 5-6.

college students, both men and women, to spend a month of the summer as its guests, living in settlement houses and carrying out a program of visits, discussions, and supervised field work under the district secretaries of the society. The Young Men's Christian Association began a similar experiment before the war, and in 1919 renewed it as part of a definite "Make Your Summer Count" compaign in the colleges. Social institutions of various kinds, hospitals, children's homes, reformatories, are inviting students to spend their short vacations with them; the college settlements have long done this for women students of their supporting colleges. The Intercollegiate Community Service Association, with chapters in twenty eastern colleges and universities, sub-chapters in forty girls' schools, and two organizing secretaries working with undergraduates, is actively engaged in making arrangements for these "student vacation apprenticeships." This movement is bound to develop; but it should never be lost sight of that such work is not professional training proper but a mode of making preliminary contacts and testing one's own inclination and aptitude for a given profession.

The new professional emphasis in social work may be at first discouraging to women who have been in the habit of thinking that in this field, as in teaching, no preparation is necessary beyond the college course, and in some cases not even that. But neither in teaching nor in social work is this longer true. In both fields, however, it is not a serious disadvantage, if financial conditions require it, to spend a year or two as sub-professional workers and then to enter upon professional training. There are also enlarging opportunities for carrying on paid work and professional training at the same time, through afternoon or summer courses, although this makes heavy and prolonged demands upon time and strength. Prospective doctors and lawyers are frequently obliged to defer their professional courses for several years while they secure the money necessary through other work which usually does not bear upon their professional careers as directly as teachers and social workers may make theirs.

Scholarships and fellowships for training in social work

are offered by various institutions and organizations, and need to be increased both in number and amount.

An adequate fellowship in these days should carry a stipend of not less than a thousand dollars and preferably of fifteen hundred, although few at present reach these amounts. Many university fellowships may be used for graduate study in the social sciences; some are so designated. The schools of social work offer a limited number of fellowships. The New York School, for instance, announces four of the value of $850, including $150 for tuition. The Intercollegiate Community Service Association continues the practice of the College Settlements Association, and offers several partial fellowships of $450 to graduates of contributing member colleges. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union has long offered three fellowships of $500 in social-economic research. The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ and certain independent settlements also provide social fellowships. The Students' Aid Societies of both Smith and Vassar administer vocational fellowships of $500, which may be used by graduates preparing for social service. These fellowships all require college graduation with pre-professional courses in economics and sociology; some of them require in addition one year of graduate work.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL SERVICES: II

SOCIAL work follows teaching and nursing in the numbers of women engaged in it. Although there are no exact figures, it is probably safe to say that there are between ten and twenty thousand social workers in the United States, of whom seventy-five per cent are women. In the 1910 census, where persons in this occupation appeared only under "semi-professional pursuits" as "religious and charity workers" and "keepers of charitable and penal institutions," women were fifty-six per cent of the total number. A recent study of positions in social work in Minneapolis [1] shows a distribution of 302 women and 87 men, or 71.2 per cent women. Of 88 graduates of the two-year course of the New York School of Social Work, 72, or 81.9 per cent are women. These figures cover the war period, when few young men were available and are probably higher than normal.

The demand for adequately trained social workers, both men and women, has been greatly increased because of the new social conditions and new sense of social responsibility arising out of the war, and also because of the continuance of national war-time social agencies, such as the Red Cross home service and Community Service, Incorporated, the outgrowth of the War-Camp Community Service. There is a shortage of workers; and many organizations are carrying on systematic and frequently overlapping recruiting in the colleges.

It is undoubtedly desirable that the numbers of men and women in social work should be more nearly equal. The work with soldiers and sailors and the new importance of

[1] *Positions in Social Work in Minneapolis* (1919).

community work are fortunately turning the attention of young men toward the profession. While on the whole social work offers a freer opportunity to persons of ability and training irrespective of sex than any other profession, it betrays the tendency so strongly marked in education, of assigning administrative and "group work" positions to men and "case work" positions to women.

In Minneapolis, 31.2 per cent of the men studied were general executives of agencies and only 7.2 per cent of the women; 18.5 per cent of the men were heads of departments within agencies and 9.2 per cent of the women; 9.3 per cent of the men were case workers or investigators and 19.6 per cent of the women. In actual numbers, the distribution of men and women in executive positions was more nearly even: twenty-seven men general executives and twenty-two women; sixteen men heads of departments and twenty-eight women. The larger proportion of the men in important positions is to a considerable extent accounted for by the fact that of the workers reporting education, 71 per cent of the men are college graduates and only 38.8 per cent of the women. Thorough professional equipment on the part of women will increase their representation in social leadership. Many already hold distinguished posts.

In fact, social work of the modern type makes a serious appeal to young women of good native ability, solid preparation, wide outlook, resourcefulness, and courage. It means having a hand in the making of the social order and the making of individuals. It calls for people with a grasp of the motives governing social and political action and of the springs of individual conduct, with a knowledge of historical and racial backgrounds and an understanding of workable methods of progress. The modern social worker must have a genuine and unsentimental liking for people and a respect for them and their reticences; an "ability to discern the great from the trivial"; a sense of humor; and a sturdy belief in the possibilities of group intelligence and good will. There is no room left for vaguely benevolent persons, young or old, nor for "professional uplifters." Neither can social workers ascribe to themselves any su-

perior virtue. As Dr. Cabot says, they need "all the virtues no more and no less than the railroad man, the farmer, or the shopkeeper." But they do need disinterestedness and social imagination. Every prospective social worker should read Professor Todd's chapter on "The Adventurous Attitude in Social Work." [1]

Whatever their affiliations, social workers may be grouped as executives, supervisors and teachers, case or service workers, publicity and financial workers, and research workers. Executive workers may be heads of institutions, of public departments or bureaus, of voluntary organizations, and of subdivisions of these bodies. They may be organizing or regional field secretaries. Field supervisors and district secretaries are of course also executives; but the growing emphasis upon supervised practice work and training in service as essential parts of professional preparation leads us to group them rather with teachers. According to present thinking, every supervisor must be a teacher and every teacher to some extent a supervisor. Universities and colleges are calling for a new type of instructor who shall be both a doctor of philosophy in the social sciences and also an experienced social worker, and thus able to conduct advanced courses for small groups of graduate students and to supervise their related field work. It is difficult to find people with this double equipment, and they are in great demand. But they are being developed through the coöperative training systems of educational institutions and social agencies. Both teachers and social workers would profit from the devising of some plan whereby members of each group might gain experience in the field of the other. Many teachers have become social workers.[2] Social workers would learn much from a period of teaching. A sojourn as teacher in a rural school is especially commended to the city-trained social worker who blithely undertakes "social service" in a country community. University schools of social work and schools of education are beginning to have more to do with each other

[1] *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work,* Chap. 8.

[2] See David Holbrook, *The Teacher Who Came Back. The Family,* February, 1921.

through courses in mental tests and vocational guidance; and this coöperation might well be extended.

In social agencies and institutions themselves, the educational value of the "staff meeting" is becoming widely recognized. The younger and less experienced workers attend these meetings as hearers and reporters of case and field data, and learn through actual participation the priceless lessons of the small face-to-face group as an instrument for checking fact and theory, for "pooling" opinions, and for shaping policies and programs. It is hardly less useful to workers of long experience. Some social agencies are including in their staffs "educational directors" like those employed by department stores, public utility companies, and other commercial organizations. This is an admirable policy where large numbers of young workers are employed, for social agencies have been not the least among offenders in the matter of exploitation.

Beginners and workers under supervision serve as case-workers, field workers, junior social workers, visitors, agents, assistants. They are "learners in service" or "service workers," apprentices or journeymen in the occupation of social work. In commercial terminology, they may be called the "sales force" of an organization, making the actual contacts with individuals or groups. In medical terminology, they may be called the "internes" or assistant practitioners. It is coming to be expected that they should have had at least a year of professional training, and should be appointed at first on probation. As in medicine, "case work" in theory and practice is fundamental to all forms of social work, and is required in the first year of professional training, whatever the vocational specialization of the second year. In the past, workers without this training at a school have sought to secure it through volunteer or extremely low-paid service with "case work agencies," particularly the "charity organization societies." But this practice has depressed standards of training and salary for all social workers, and has led to a stream of transient workers in these organizations and consequently to an abnormally high "labor turnover." [1] Nowadays it is recognized that "fam-

[1] See Todd. Chapter 7. The Labor Turnover in Social Agencies.

ily case work" is a professional field by itself, and that general acquaintance with its methods and those of other types of case work may preferably be secured as a part of supervised practice under the control of the professional school. More intensive case work training should be secured through positions as "learners in service" with agencies that recognize their educational obligations to their workers, and make explicit provisions for training. The selection of the agency with which a beginner identifies herself is a matter of the highest importance. A list of agencies providing valuable training might well be compiled. Such positions should carry a "scholarship" salary of not less than a thousand dollars a year, to avoid all danger of exploiting volunteer workers. But they should be given only to properly qualified and carefully selected persons, and be held for not longer than a year on this basis.

Professional publicity and financial workers are increasingly employed by social organizations, and the range and techniques of such work have been enormously developed by the war with its "drives" and "campaigns" for all sorts of causes and its innumerable "publicity services" and systems of propaganda. Social workers have a moral obligation to distinguish clearly between legitimate and illegitimate uses of these new methods in the furtherance of their special activities. There is some difference of opinion as to whether social publicity can be best conducted by people whose primary training is in journalism and advertising with a secondary knowledge of social work or by professional social workers who have acquired a knowledge of publicity methods and have aptitude in this direction.[1] The second view seems to be more generally held. Publicity and financial workers may be regularly attached to social organizations or may be temporarily employed to conduct special campaigns. Usually only experienced workers are engaged; but social executives are beginning to look for promising candidates on their own staffs and to give them special opportunities for training. It is reported that the

[1] See Clare M. Tousley. *Publicity in Case Work. The Family.* April, 1920.

New York School of Social Work is to offer a course in social publicity. *The Survey* has carried the announcements of a woman consulting expert in social advertising and of several bureaus of social information and finance.

Social investigators and research workers have never been so much in demand, and the number and variety of opportunities are likely to increase rather than to diminish. The universities and the schools of social work offer courses in the techniques of collecting, organizing, and presenting social data, including work in statistics and graphics and the actual field study of a special problem. The line between investigation and research is difficult to draw; but the first term is commonly applied to the collection of data in the field under direction; the second to the planning and interpreting the results of an inquiry. Certain social agencies maintain research departments or exist primarily for research; but the tendency is growing to call in experts for special studies and surveys or to have them made under the auspices of some of the great social foundations. The Russell Sage Foundation has its department of surveys and exhibits, and is inaugurating a study of education and training for social work; the Carnegie Foundation has recently completed a study of methods of "Americanization"; the Rockefeller Foundation is financing a study of education for public health nursing; the Tuberculosis Association and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company are continuing their tuberculosis study and demonstration in Framingham. Directors of social research are persons of long training and wide reputation; but young workers may gain invaluable experience as investigators and assistants. Opportunities both permanent and temporary may be found under the federal government, especially in the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and also in state and city departments. They are also to be found with many voluntary social organizations and to an increasing extent with other organizations concerned with the social aspects of their own activities. Social statisticians form a recognized group. Directors and preparers of social exhibits stand on the border-line of social research and social publicity.

The whole matter of methods of securing employment and workers is now under active consideration in the field of social work as in other fields. The National Social Workers' Exchange in New York, established in 1917 and maintained on a coöperative basis by social agencies and individual social workers, is doing much to reduce wasteful and haphazard methods, and is working out provisions for information, job analysis, and recruiting, as well as for placement. The schools of social work and the appointment bureaus of colleges and universities take an active interest in securing positions for their graduates. The bureaus of occupations for trained women are of assistance. Social agencies are establishing well organized personnel bureaus, coöperating with educational institutions and professional employment agencies. These bureaus are attempting to study systematically their employment needs and requirements, to reduce their labor turnover, and to develop higher standards among social organizations with respect to the taking of workers from one another.[1] There is still room for individual application backed by a good preliminary letter asking for an interview. Occasionally positions are secured by advertisements in the *Survey* and other periodicals read by social executives. Common standards to be applied to the recruiting of young workers through the colleges are still to be worked out. In this matter, the Intercollegiate Community Service Association and the National Social Workers' Exchange are coöperating.

The salary situation in social work is at present as acute as in teaching, and is similarly under active discussion, inquiry, and revision. In such a period of fluctuation, it is impossible to make statements of any permanent validity. But here, as in all salaried occupations, the pressure of the high cost of living is forcing salaries upward and leading to much needed drafting of salary schedules and working out of just and public systems of promotion. In the larger cities, where social workers have been concentrated, their salaries have as a rule been even lower than those of teach-

[1] See Joanna C. Colcord. *On the Hiring Line. The Family.* April, 1920.

ers in the same place; in many cases, well below a living wage. It must be admitted, however, that their professional equipment has often likewise been lower. In both teaching and social work, low salary standards are an index of imperfect professional development.

Several investigations of salaries paid in social work have recently been made. In the Minneapolis study already mentioned, carried on during the last four months of 1918, the median salary for 87 men was found to be $1,842.85; for 302 women, $966. Forty-two and three-tenths per cent of the men received $2,000 and over; one and five-tenths per cent of the women. Only twenty women received $1,600 and over, while 248 or over 82 per cent received less than $900. A comparison of the salaries of social workers, teachers, and librarians in Minneapolis showed that in 1918 29.3 per cent of social workers received less than $900; 17.2 per cent of public school teachers; and 42.6 per cent of public librarians. On the other hand, 8.9 per cent of social workers received over $2,100 as against 1.85 per cent of teachers and 1 per cent of librarians. Since these figures were reported both teachers and librarians have received increases of salary.

The study of expenditures and salaries of case workers made by the National Society for Organizing Family Social Work during the first six months of 1919[1] covered ninety-seven workers, presumably all women, from various parts of the country. The figures are too small to warrant general conclusions. The median yearly salary was $970.56. Thirty-nine college graduates received a median yearly salary of $1,010; 15 graduates of schools of social work a median salary of $1,275. Reports of yearly expenditure showed that only those who lived at home or were graduates of schools of social work earned more than they spent. The median yearly expenditure, $1,114.32, is slightly lower than the dreary minimum budget of $1,151.15 estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as sufficient to maintain a woman government clerk at a "level of health and decency."[2]

More encouraging are studies made by the New York

[1] *The Family.* March and April, 1920.
[2] *Monthly Labor Review.* January, 1920.

School of Social Work[1] of recent salaries received by its graduates. In 1918 the average salary for men and women together was $1,500; in 1919, half of the salaries reported were $1,800 and over. Men graduates reporting salaries in 1919 show a salary range of from $1,700 to $6,000 with only one case at either extreme and over two-thirds at $3,000 or more. Forty women graduates show a salary range of from $840 to $3,700 with only three receiving less than $1,200 and twelve receiving $2,000 and more. Of thirty-two women graduates of the two-year course since 1913, only five received initial salaries of less than $1,000. The fourteen initial salaries received in 1918 and their increases in 1919 are as follows, the second figure representing the salary received in 1919: $1,020-$1,500; $1,080-$1,770; $1,200-$1,320; $1,200-$1,400; $1,200-$1,500; $1,200-$1,500; $1,200-$1,500; $1,200-$1,800; $1,200-$1,800; $1,200-$1,800; $1,350-$1,500; $1,500-$1,800; $1,560-$2,600; $2,400-$3,700.

The committee reporting on the salaries of social case workers recommended in September, 1919, that a case worker who has had one year at a school of social work of recognized standing or its equivalent should receive an initial salary of at least a hundred dollars a month, and that increases in the monthly salary amounting to at least ten dollars should be granted automatically at six months' intervals until a definite maximum is reached. The Minneapolis report recommends that "a maximum probationary period should be determined, after which all workers should be paid at least a living wage . . . and distinctions should be drawn between volunteer, probationary, scholarship, and permanent positions, and none but trained workers should be appointed to permanent positions." It also recommends that conditions of work should be standardized, the policy of equal pay for equal work should be adopted, and objective standards for determining efficiency should be devised as a basis for promotion.

The Bureau of Jewish Social Research has likewise conducted an inquiry into salaries of workers in Jewish social agencies; and the Association of Employed Officers of the

[1] General Announcement (1920-1921).

Young Women's Christian Associations has made a comparative study of the salaries and expenditures of its members and of women in other professional groups.[1] The present salary ranges in the Association are from $1,800 to $3,000 for the staff of the National Board; from $1,200 to $2,500 for local general secretaries, with the median from $1,600 to $1,800; from $1,200 to $1,800 for industrial secretaries, with the median $1,300 or $1,400; from $1,500 to $1,800 for directors of international institutes, working with foreign women and girls; from $1,200 to $1,600 for workers in the girls' work department, with the large majority at $1,200. These last positions are looked upon to some extent as training for other departments. Technical workers with training in other fields, such as physical and recreation directors, cafeteria managers, etc., are paid at approximately current rates. These salaries are likely to be revised upward in the near future. Salary ranges for women in the Home Service Section of the American Red Cross have been from $1,200 to $3,000 a year. Supervisors receive from $1,200 to $2,000; instructors from $1,500 to $2,100. During the war, the War and Navy Departments' Commission on Training Camp Activities paid the workers in its section for women and girls, later attached to the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, from $1,500 to $3,500. District supervisors received $2,500; local workers, $1,800; local assistants, $1,500.

Fifty social workers of various types, not including those dealt with in preceding chapters, filled our schedules during 1918 and 1919. The salaries reported do not represent the most recent advances, although some of them show the higher levels reached in the war-emergency services. They range for all groups from $840 to $6,000, with a median salary of $1,800, and include workers in all sections of the country, although the majority are in the East. Of the fifty workers, 18 are general executives—superintendents of institutions, directors and executive secretaries of organizations with a salary range of from $1,320 to $6,000 and a median salary of $2,300; 11 are departmental executives with a salary range of from $1,200 to $3,000 and a

[1] Unpublished.

median salary of $1,800; three are field supervisors, with a salary range of from $1,800 to $2,500 and a median salary of $1,800; 12 are case workers and field workers—probation and parole officers, policewomen, juvenile court and child welfare visitors, school visitors, family visitors—with a salary range of from $840 to $1,800 and a median salary of $1,200; 4 are teachers and editors in schools of social work with a salary range of from $1,500 to $4,000 and a median salary of $1,650; two are research workers on social problems with salaries of $1,800 and $3,000 respectively.

Grouped by types of social service and including all grades of worker in each type, 8 are in family case-work—charity organization societies, public departments of charity, and Red Cross home service—with a salary range of from $960 to $3,000 and a median salary of $1,885; 5 are in children's work with a salary range of from $1,200 to $2,500 and a median salary of $2,000; 13 are in correctional and protective work with a salary range of from $840 to $3,500 and a median salary of $1,800; 9 are in work with women and girls—Girl Scouts, Young Women's Christian Associations, League of Women Workers—with a salary range of from $1,200 to $6,000 and a median salary of $1,800; 5 are in vocational guidance and school visiting work, including psychological testing of school children, with a salary range of from $900 to $3,000 and a median salary of $1,200; 4 are in settlement work with a salary range of from $1,000 to $2,500 and a median salary of $1,300; 7 are in educational, publicity, or research work with a salary range of from $1,500 to $4,000 and a median salary of $1,800. Fourteen hold positions under public departments, federal, state, or municipal, with a salary range of from $840 to $3,500 and a median salary of $1,800. These include four women under the federal Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board; a superintendent of a state industrial school for girls and a visitor of paroled girls from a similar institution; a supervisor of mother's aid under a state board of charity; a city overseer of the poor; two executive secretaries of a city board of children's guardians and a city juvenile commission respectively; a pro-

bation officer in a city court of domestic relations; and three policewomen at regular police salaries.

Some of the comments are as follows: "Have an ability to get along with people and to put over programs."

"Learn to do one thing better than anybody else can do it. Become an expert. Don't be a blind alley worker."

"Cultivate a passion for facts; never lose your sympathy for all that is human; get much satisfaction out of seemingly small successes; have a hobby outside of social work; don't live with other social workers."

"Social work needs women of high intelligence coupled with balance, good judgment, a sense of humor, and common sense."

"See life in the large rather than in the small, or you will waste your time in petty work rather than doing the 'large job' to be done."

"Do not expect to become a social worker over-night."

"Train for it! 'A sweet Christian character and a mother herself' are inadequate qualifications."

"If you want a peaceful routine life, stay out of it. If you want an opportunity to exercise initiative, to work hard, there is no better place. The better your education, the better you will succeed."

CHAPTER XI

PERSONNEL SERVICES

PERSONNEL service is a term which came into widespread use during the war, to a considerable extent taking the place of the term employment management, with which we were just becoming familiar. Still other terms are being adopted, so that parallel departments in industrial, commercial and other organizations are entitled employment departments, personnel departments, service departments, and industrial relations departments. This last term is favored by large corporations as covering all activities having to do with employees, including employment, transfer and promotion, wage-setting, testing and training, health and safety, restaurant and recreation facilities, housing and transportation of workers, collective bargaining and shop government. The term personnel is equally inclusive, if less explicit; with a stronger emphasis upon the human and psychological elements involved. The further fact that identical terms are used in different senses by different firms shows that the movement is still in process of organization and development, and leads to a good deal of popular misconception. But personnel service is a significant manifestation of the new spirit in industry and the growing understanding of the psychology of human group relationships.[1]

Employment or personnel management has been so widely heralded as a "new profession for women" that it is the part of wisdom to begin this chapter with a solemn warning that it requires far more of its practitioners than a "natural liking for people" and a few undergraduate courses in

[1] See Ordway Tead and Henry C. Metcalf. *Personnel Administration* (1920). *Employment Management Series.* Federal Board for Vocational Education. Eight Bulletins (1920).

"labor problems" and psychology, important and even necessary as these are. But they must be supplemented by rigorous special training and practical experience of a kind new to most women. There are few opportunities for beginners; and women must realize that both for the sake of the profession and for the sake of the permanent position of women within it, those who enter it to-day should do so with a clear understanding of its character and a strong sense of their professional responsibilities and obligations. It is no place for women seeking merely novelty and adventure.

In spite of these warnings, personnel service offers a real and growing opportunity to young women of vigorous and unsentimental personality, resourcefulness, and determination. It has to do with the promotion of satisfactory human relations, the adjustment of difficulties and grievances, and the maintenance of proper standards of working and living —matters with which women are supposed to be especially qualified to deal. While there is a tendency to employ women personnel managers in connection with women workers—of whom there are now between eleven and twelve millions in the United States, eight million of them between fourteen and twenty-one years of age—there are women successfully handling departments dealing with both men and women and even with men alone. Here as elsewhere, the really determining factor should be ability to do the work and not sex. There are various "substitute" or "allied" occupations through which women may test their aptitude for personnel work, as well as training courses of a professional type, including practice work, and opportunities to gain experience as apprentices or learners in service. A period as an actual factory operative, saleswoman, or clerk is fundamental to a real understanding of the workers to be dealt with. Some of this experience may be gained during summer vacations.

The word "personnel," borrowed from the French, is applied to the group or groups of workers belonging to a given organization, industrial, commercial, governmental, social, educational. In a factory or group of factories, it may be used with reference to all the workers employed or

be qualified in such ways as shop personnel, office personnel, sales personnel. During the war, the federal departments and the great auxiliary organizations like the American Red Cross, the War Camp Community Service, the two Christian Associations, and other national religious societies, all had personnel departments or bureaus or services. The Report of the Congressional Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries urges that the Federal Civil Service Commission be made in an adequate sense a central personnel agency for the government. Department stores, insurance and telephone companies, banks—all sorts of organizations employing large numbers of people—are establishing special personnel departments and studying their own personnel requirements and problems.

Just what is involved in the occupation or profession of personnel management? Dr. Edward D. Jones[1] says that it is chiefly a question of the intelligent handling of the human relations which result from the normal course of business day by day, and calls it a departure in business practice. "Hitherto, executive control in business has been exercised through three main divisions of administration: (1) Finance—in charge of a treasurer or president. (2) Manufacturing—in charge of a general manager or general superintendent. (3) Sales—in charge of a sales manager. To these three divisions industrial enterprise is now adding a fourth, i. e., employment management or, as it is sometimes called, supervision of personnel. In the employment department of a business are gathered all those activities which have to do with the human relations. To bring all these matters together under one head, and provide each subsection with specialists is a great step toward scientific industrialism."

So comprehensive a description explains the present tendency to abandon the term "employment" in favor of the terms "personnel" or "industrial relations." The functions of a modern personnel department include far more than mere "hiring and firing" even according to the most

[1] *Employment Management: Its Rise and Scope.* Employment Management Series No. 1. (1919.) Federal Board for Vocational Education.

enlightened methods. In addition to the provision of proper working conditions and other provisions for the maintenance of efficiency and morale, it is constantly studying methods and results as they affect the workers, and thus is committed to research.[1] But it must be admitted that in many organizations the coördination of all personnel activities under one department does not yet exist. Side by side and more or less independent and overlapping are to be found employment departments, "service" or "welfare" departments, health departments, adjustment departments, planning or "scientific management" departments. Some of these came into existence long before "industrial experience" had "proved the advantage of a separate department to deal with questions of personnel"; some of them are only partly concerned with questions of personnel. Many "welfare departments" are still conducted on a philanthropic and paternalistic basis, and are distrusted and resented by the workers, who have had small share in planning or directing the enterprises designed for their benefit. Rightly or wrongly, they are looked upon as an effort on the part of the management to make people contented with low wages and unsatisfactory working conditions. The dislike felt for the terms "welfare work" and "social work" is a sign that such work has frequently been unwisely handled, and is in itself a strong argument for not regarding personnel work in any of its subdivisions as a form of "social service," fundamentally social though it be in the larger sense. It must be looked upon by the workers as a part of just and enlightened management, free from any taint of charity or patronage. Similarly, the earlier type of "scientific management" in the form of time, motion, and fatigue studies aroused the deep suspicion of the workers as tending to their exploitation. Modern "job analysis" and all forms of mental and occupational testing must be carried on with sympathetic understanding of personnel psychology.

These considerations raise the question of the relations of the manager of the personnel department to the manage-

[1] See Tead and Metcalf. *Personnel Administration,* Part VI. Research.

ment of an enterprise on the one hand and to the workers in that enterprise on the other. He is in a peculiar sense an intermediary between the two, and is intimately concerned with the maintenance of "group morale." To do this, he must have the confidence of both the staff and the rank and file. The whole matter is bound up with the larger question of the participation of labor in management. It is likely that he will be in some way jointly selected by management and employees, or that at least his appointment will be approved by representatives of the workers. Dr. Jones says: "Employment supervision represents a movement in the direction of the democratic shop, in which a voice is given to labor in determining working conditions." The personnel manager and his staff are an essential element in the working out of systems of "functionalized foremanship," shop committees, collective bargaining, and labor adjustment. His weight as a member of the managerial staff and his relations with the planning, production, and sales departments still vary greatly in different organizations.

In view of the wide differences at present in the scope, function, and importance of personnel departments, and the popularity of the term, it is necessary for women considering positions in particular departments to find out what they actually stand for; what are their relations to service and welfare activities, to "scientific management," and to problems of labor adjustment and representation. It is likewise important for women going into "industrial welfare" positions as cafeteria managers, club and recreation leaders, physicians, nurses, or public health workers, "Americanization" workers, educational directors, garden supervisors, home visitors, to find out in advance whether such work is carried on through the personnel department and with the coöperation of the workers, or occupies a detached and more or less anomalous position.

It has been pointed out that personnel management is on one side an outgrowth of scientific management and cost accounting, leading to the discovery of the high cost of labor "turnover" or change in the personnel of workers, with a resulting expense estimated at from $25 to $75 per person

and on the other, of the workmen's compensation and "safety first" movements, which have revealed the extent to which accidents are due to the ignorance, the fatigue, or the general dissatisfaction of the worker.[1] In a larger sense it gathers up and applies to concrete industrial and commercial situations the results of modern developments in vocational education, vocational guidance, applied psychology, and public health. It has before it the task of modifying and mitigating the withering human results of excessive specialization of labor.[2] The personnel manager "works . . . to cut down accidents, reduce fatigue, and cure antagonism of mind. As a hiring officer he has an opportunity to make vocational guidance more definite than it has yet been, because he can supplement the analysis of the individual with a parallel analysis of jobs. He has a powerful motive for competence in industrial training work, for he graduates his pupils in rather than out. His students benefit from the psychology of doing real work for pay in a real shop." [1]

Personnel managers were in great demand during the war, when "the competitive struggle was chiefly to save time." Under ordinary conditions it is rather "to reduce costs." But the financial saving of a smaller labor turnover and the increase in production due to well selected and satisfied workers have been so abundantly demonstrated that personnel management has become a firmly established and widely recognized profession. There is every prospect of a permanent business expansion in the United States; and with the growing numbers of women in industrial, clerical, and professional occupations and the honorable records of certain women personnel managers in dealing with men as well as women employees, there seems no reason to doubt that personnel service will be a widening field for competent women, although there has been a temporary shrinkage from the war-time demand. An intensive study of women already in the field and of the distribution of openings is greatly needed.

[1] Employment Management Series No. 1. Federal Board.
[2] Carleton H. Parker. The Technique of American Industry, *Atlantic Monthly*. January, 1920.

The war-emergency intensive courses in employment management given at various universities under the auspices of the War Industries Board and coöperating government departments did much to develop standards and techniques of professional training for personnel services, although they were only eight weeks in length and admitted only persons with previous industrial experience and sent by the firms with which they were connected. A preliminary "shop practice" course was given at Cleveland for people without this experience, and was attended by about fifty people, mostly women. Women attended many of the regular courses, and a woman was director of the course given by the University of Washington. Bryn Mawr College likewise offered a graduate course of eight months' academic work and three months' shop practice in industrial supervision and employment management, making practice arrangements with a number of large industries and commercial establishments in the East. It is continuing and developing this course on a permanent basis. Universities and schools of business administration are offering more extended courses in personnel management, industrial management, and applied psychology, including the various types of mental tests, as well as fundamental courses in economics and sociology essential to a student preparing to enter this field. Many of these courses include observation and shop practice, sometimes of a regular apprentice character. A Bureau of Personnel Administration, offering training courses, was established in New York in 1920. There is a large and growing literature on the subject, and much discussion. In 1919, the various local associations of employment managers formed the National Association of Employment Managers open to qualified men and women, which has already held two largely attended conventions. It issues a monthly publication entitled *Personnel,* and has recently changed its name to the Industrial Relations Association. Many of the men and women who were organizers of personnel work on a large scale during the war have established themselves as personnel and management consultants. Organizations all over the country are calling upon these firms to inau-

gurate or reconstruct personnel departments. Women interested in preparing for personnel services have therefore full access to information and training and many ways of discovering their qualifications for the work.

It is not easy to list these qualifications beyond the essential ones of courage, a sense of justice, resourcefulness, and a practical everyday kind of democracy, together with adequate training. Dr. Jones says: "To summarize the matter of qualifications we give the relative weights which a number of successful employment managers have agreed upon for five principal factors: Personality, 35 per cent; General industrial experience, 25 per cent; Executive experience, 20 per cent; Shop experience (for employment managers in manufacturing establishments), 15 per cent; Experience with organized social movements, 5 per cent." [1] This enumeration makes no mention of education, although high standards in this respect are everywhere emphasized. The growth of personnel research, either by individual firms, by firms of consultants, or by joint service bureaus such as the Retail Research Association, which has its personnel division, creates a demand for persons with advanced academic and professional equipment along research lines, including statisticians and psychologists. The various bureaus of a thoroughly organized personnel department—"employment proper, adjustment, medical service and compensation, education, social service, safety, records"—likewise call for persons of special qualifications. [2]

With regard to so new a profession it is not easy to make statements either about modes of securing employment nor about salaries. Positions are probably most frequently secured through institutions giving special training, through recommendation by persons already in the work, and through direct application backed by proper evidence of fitness. Bureaus of occupations have scattering calls. To quote Dr. Jones again: "At present the salaries of employment managers—the great majority of which probably

[1] *Employment Management.* Federal Board for Vocational Education. Opportunity Monograph No. 12 (1919).

[2] Employment Management Series No. 1. Federal Board (1920).

fall between $2,000 and $5,000—are not equal to those commanded by sales managers and production engineers of equal ability. This discrepancy is due partly to the recentness of the function and to its more subtle and indirect relations to the profit-making process." [1] A firm of personnel consultants writes: "The ordinary employment manager receives from $3,000 to $5,000, while men of real ability earn from $5,000 to $25,000." At present more women are assistant employment managers, for the most part in charge of women workers, than are heads of employment or personnel departments, and consequently receive lower salaries. They have commonly had far less first-hand industrial or commercial experience than men, and many of them are still in the position of learners in service or subordinate service workers. They are for the most part young college women who have taken one or other of the war-emergency courses. It is highly important for women just at this time in a new profession to measure themselves by the best standards not only with respect to salaries but with respect to preparation, experience, and responsibilities assumed.

Of thirty-eight organizations filling our employers' schedule, twenty are industrial, eleven commercial, and seven social or educational. Twenty-two report unmistakable personnel departments; six, apparent departments; and ten, no departments. Seventeen out of the twenty industrial firms, which include some of the largest and most progressive in the East and the Middle West, have departments, the heads of which describe themselves variously as employment manager, personnel secretary, service secretary, manager of employment and service department, manager of industrial relations department. Five managers reporting are women. The industries include firms manufacturing chemicals, clothing, food products, metal products, optical products, paper products, and a large mail-order house doing both manufacturing and merchandising. The four commercial personnel departments are in department stores, banks, and a great public utility system. Of the educational and social organizations, the American Red Cross has a

[1] *Employment Management.* Federal Board for Vocational Education. Opportunity Monograph No. 12 (1919).

central personnel service having to do chiefly with clerical workers and special personnel services in its several departments and divisions. A great middle western charities organization reports that the assistant superintendent has functions similar to those of an employment manager.

Of twenty-three women filling our schedules and doing work directly connected with the employees in industrial or commercial establishments, seven are in factories; four are in commercial houses; two are with a consulting and a research organization respectively; one, formerly director of an industrial employment and service department, is now an independent consultant; the remaining ten are "welfare workers" outside of an organized personnel service or "educational directors" in department stores. These last two groups are dealt with in Chapters XII and XIII.

In the industrial group salaries range from $1,500 to $3,000, with a median salary of $1,846. This group includes the personnel director of a large eastern book manufacturing establishment, the superintendent of the employment and service department of an Ohio clothing factory, the chief of the "women's department of the employment division of the industrial relations branch" of a great Illinois company manufacturing electric equipment, two employment managers in Pennsylvania knitting and stocking factories, an assistant to the employment secretary in an Ohio rubber company, and a personnel secretary for office workers in a New York watch manufacturing company. These women are all college graduates, several with advanced degrees. Three have had the Bryn Mawr course in industrial supervision and employment management. Five are of recent college classes, taking their positions in 1919. Two have been in personnel work since 1913, and have helped to establish it as a profession.

Several advise direct application and personal interviews as the best methods of securing employment. Others advise using bureaus of occupations. The superintendent of employment in a notably well organized men's clothing factory says: "Apply for an apprenticeship course, which involves learning all the operations in the manufacture of men's

clothing and occupying executive positions in various departments of the factory."

Other comments and advice are as follows: "The policies of my employer with regard to the employment of women are very liberal. Eighty per cent of the employees are women, some in positions of considerable responsibility. An employees' representative committee is being contemplated."

"My employers are progressive in methods of production, conservative in policies affecting employees. Because of the size and functionalization of the work, I should advise a beginner to get her first or early experience with a small organization where work is less routine and broader."

"The fact that an employment department was started is proof of at least some progressive ideas. I should advise women entering this work to know as much about the labor and general policies of the firm as possible. Make the firm 'qualify' as well as yourself."

"The firm is progressive because of broad knowledge of industrial problems and fearlessness in trying out experiments. They have a very broad policy with regard to the employment of women. About one-half of the foremen in the production, instruction, and inspection departments are women. I advise actual experience for at least a year in the industry to be chosen as a field for employment work, wide reading on industrial problems and economics, and development of a healthy body."

"I consider my employers' policies progressive because they keep ahead of both the economic and social trends. . . . I was acting 'works manager' during the war, and still retain some of the duties. . . . I advise women considering personnel work to enter actual factory work for six months or a year and not to consider salary as of more value than the opportunity to work."

"Be tactful. Don't give any one the impression that you know more than they do. Don't expect to reform the factory in a day."

The statements of duties show the range and coördinating character of modern personnel departments. The question arises, however, whether the amount of direct "welfare

work" put upon women personnel managers may not be to the detriment of their personnel work proper. Supervision of welfare activities is one thing; actual recreation work, home visiting, and so forth, is another. The answer probably depends upon the size of the factory and the stage of development of the personnel department; but statements like the following suggest too great a range of detail:

"I employ all workers ('fire' when necessary); handle complaints and cases of discipline; supervise medical work, lunch room, recreations, etc."

"I hire all workers; do first-aid work, safety work, absentee visiting, recreational work, all things pertaining to welfare."

"I do hiring, follow-up, and transfer of employees, and look after their general welfare."

Other statements refer more directly to personnel supervision:

The service secretary of a metal products plant says: "I am given a good deal of authority, do all the employing of men and women in the mill and office, and have a good deal to say about rate-setting, promotion, etc. My assistant is trained to take my place at any time. The nurse also has a good deal of authority in admitting to work people who have been out sick and in regulating the cleanliness, ventilation, and improvements in the mill; and it is now possible that the woman who is assistant in our production department will be given full charge of the production work in this plant, which is a position of considerable responsibility."

An assistant industrial relations manager in the footwear department of a large rubber corporation says in filling out an employers' schedule for her firm: "There are four women assistant industrial relations managers. They (and other women in executive and technical positions) have gone through our Planning Department School, in which they have made process analyses of different operations connected with footwear manufacturing. In addition they have learned how to make rubber shoes." The list of women taking this course includes besides the industrial relations managers fourteen nurses, one dietitian, six women

in the instruction department, and one scientific management worker.

An "associate consultant" in a recently established firm of consultants in industrial relations says: "I do research, and am held in readiness to do field work, i. e., installing employment departments and providing a labor policy for factories. People going into this work should take as much graduate work in social economics as possible and work in factories for several years. When they have done this, no concrete advice will be necessary."

A recent study of women in executive and technical positions in 250 factories in and about New York City[1] disclosed one personnel director, one employment manager for all help except in the office, 26 employment managers for women help, and 25 assistant employment managers, besides 23 welfare workers, 4 doctors, 80 nurses, 11 instructors, 19 lunchroom managers, and 58 matrons.

In the commercial group salaries range from $1,560 to $2,080, and have undoubtedly risen since reported. A study of opportunities for women in department stores made in 1920[2] finds the salaries of employment managers ranging from $1,760 to $3,380 with a median salary of $2,190; of assistant employment managers, from $1,200 to $2,340, with a median salary of $1,500. Our group includes three women in department stores in Massachusetts, Michigan, and Ohio, and a research worker in a New York bureau of retail research, maintained by eighteen department stores throughout the country. Of the personnel workers, one is called "selector of female help"; one, "welfare investigator"; one, "employment manager." Three are college graduates, one with the Bryn Mawr industrial course; one was prepared for college, and served as advertising writer and assistant buyer for the store before entering the employment department. The welfare investigator examines and instructs new employees, follows up and studies their general

[1] *Executive and Technical Women in Industry: Survey of Factories, 1919-1920.* (Pamphlet.) Young Women's Christian Association. Employment Department.

[2] *Positions of Responsibility in Department Store Organizations.* Bulletin No. 5. Bureau of Vocational Information (1921).

efficiency, does home visiting, etc. The employment manager took her position in 1919 after two years' experience in a field office of the United States Employment Service. She attends to placement work, transfers, increases in salary, and discharges. She considers the policies of her employers "very far above the average," and gives this advice:

"Secure (1) a college education; (2) special training in employment management courses; (3) experience in the selling and non-selling departments of a store."

The research worker says: "I investigate and study employment departments of stores of our association. This includes policies of firm, employment procedures and policies, wages, education, and welfare. This work requires an interest in people, practical experience in a factory or store, and specialized study in the field."

Closely allied to personnel work with organizations is the work of public employment offices or labor exchanges. During the war the War Emergency United States Employment Service in coöperation with existing state systems established a network of nine hundred offices throughout the country for the purpose of distributing workers as they were most needed for war production and of furnishing continuous country-wide reports on the condition of the labor market. While this work was inevitably done hastily and imperfectly under war-time conditions, and has been practically suspended because of the failure of Congress to pass legislation and make appropriations establishing a permanent state-federal system of labor exchanges, such a system is essential to the proper organization of a modern industrial democracy; and there is every expectation that the United States will not lag far behind such countries as Great Britain and Canada in creating a public employment service for every group of workers from unskilled to professional.

With the organization of this system, personnel work in public employment offices will become a form of professional service comparable to teaching in its social impor-

tance, and should attract the best types of young men and young women. The success of any such system will depend primarily upon the character of its personnel; and it must be jealously guarded from becoming the refuge of the mediocre or the sphere of petty politics. Public employment offices will supplement the efforts of personnel departments in individual organizations, and will coöperate with them in securing and redistributing workers. If rightly administered, they should act as a great stabilizing and educative agency, reducing unemployment and seasonal employment and furnishing authoritative vocational information and practical vocational guidance.

With the reëstablishment of a nation-wide public employment service provision will undoubtedly be made for the training of its staff of workers, partly through the system itself, partly through coöperation with universities, colleges, and special institutions. The War Emergency Service conducted during the winter of 1919 a series of two-weeks training conferences for selected members of its field staff, which made promising beginnings in this direction.

But whether personnel services are public or private, they involve definite techniques of interviewing, advising, testing and rating, selecting and placing, following up and investigating, that must be made matters of continuous study and revision. There are also the techniques of devising and using effective forms and statistics. Much is to be learned from the specifications for personnel officers prepared by the Army Committee on Classification of Personnel and the procedures of the eleven "personnel schools" which it conducted at various camps, and its schools for "S. A. T. C." personnel officers and for trade-test officers.[1] Its specifications and rating scale have been described in Chapter III. There is likely to be increasing attention to employment psychology in employment offices and personnel departments, both to the actual giving of tests and to the experimental working out of such tests.[2] A research and

[1] *Personnel System of the D. S. Army.* (1919.) Vol. I, Chapter 30; Vol. II, Chapters 3, 13.

[2] Henry C. Link. *Employment Psychology* (1919). Chapters 1-9, 14-21.

testing laboratory may well become a part of any adequate and progressive employment system, although as yet tests for determining individual occupational aptitudes are in their infancy. The whole matter of interviewing needs to be much more thoroughly studied. It can no longer be guided merely by good will and an inner light. The National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations for Trained Women appointed in May, 1919, a special committee on methods and techniques, which is planning a careful study of the practices and principles of interviewing. The Harvard Bureau of Vocational Guidance, the Industrial Relations Association, and other agencies, are likewise actively engaged in studying the various problems connected with the training of workers for personnel services.

CHAPTER XII

INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR SERVICES

PERSONNEL service is by no means the only type of work for professional women in industry, although it is just now the most popular. Opportunities of various other kinds are developing in industrial corporations and "plants"; and there are outside organizations which devote themselves to the study of industrial and labor problems and to the regulation and improvement of industrial conditions.

These outside organizations may be classified as: (1) Voluntary associations of citizens, such as the American Association for Labor Legislation and the Consumers' League; (2) public departments, boards, and commissions; (3) organizations of employers, such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Industrial Conference Board; and (4) organizations of industrial workers, such as labor or trade unions. Their aims include the bettering of working conditions through publicity, education, and legislation; the enforcement of legislation through inspection and regulation; the improvement of organization, administration, and processes through joint action by the employers; the securing of adequate wages and just and stable working conditions through collective action by the workers; research and investigation along all these lines. Research bureaus are maintained by private associations or foundations; by federal and state governments; by bodies of manufacturers or individual corporations; they are being established by organized labor.

Employers have in the past concerned themselves chiefly with methods of production and scientific research on materials and processes. But the past few years have brought some of them to a realization of the importance of constructive labor policies and the maintenance of satisfactory

industrial relations. To bring these about, they are setting up research and information services and calling for the expert advice of industrial engineers and consultants. The "labor audit" [1] takes its place beside the "production chart," the "sales audit" and the "financial audit." Labor adjustment boards representing management and labor and presided over by a chairman acceptable to both groups are being established in great industries like the men's clothing industry. Elaborate provisions for the training of workers in service, like the great "rubber university" in Akron, Ohio, are being made. A new type of professionally trained executive is needed, and plans are being developed for his production in larger numbers. A recent bulletin says: "The slight rôle in the management of large enterprises which is played by the individual shareholder serves to bring into prominence the salaried managerial staff. The professional manager has come into existence as a class." [2] Sidney Webb's characterization of him has been given on page 14; and the arrangement by which groups of industries are preparing "specifications for managers" for the higher educational institutions has been described on pages 45, 46.

Some idea of the range of positions opening to professional women in industrial plants may be gathered from the schedules received from industrial employers and from women already in such positions. Our employers' schedule asked: "Do you employ women in executive, technical, or higher clerical positions? Please list below kinds of positions held by women; number of women in each." The seventeen firms replying manufacture chemicals, clothing, food products, metal products, optical goods, paper products, rubber products, shoes; and represent New England, the middle Atlantic states, and the middle western states. Eight report in general that they have women filling executive positions; two, women in technical positions; three, women in higher clerical positions. A metal products firm

[1] Ordway Tead. *The Labor Audit.* Employment Management Series, No. 8 (1920). H. S. Gantt. Organizing for Work (1919).
[2] Alfred B. Rich. *The Wage-Setting Process.* Employment Management Series, No. 5 (1919).

reports a woman assistant director of the production department, who may be placed in full charge of the production work. A woman personnel director served as "works manager" of a book manufacturing establishment during the war. A clothing firm reports women heads of divisions and women supervisors. Five firms report women foremen. Two chemical firms employ women chemists; an optical firm has a woman lens designer. Two firms report women in their planning departments, one of them employing eight. Three have industrial or technical librarians; one, an editor of a "house organ." Three report women in their instruction departments. A large rubber corporation employs a woman as general director of instruction, six heads of instruction departments in different factories, and a woman director of Americanization. This firm puts every woman in a responsible position through its "Planning Department School." Eight firms report nurses; two, directors of lunchrooms; three, managers or matrons of girls' lodging houses. Only one reports a dietitian. Five report secretaries to executives; two, chief clerks; two, head file clerks. One each reports cost accountants, a head payroll clerk, a head bookkeeper.

To the question, "What experience have you had in the employment of college women versus non-college women?" one well organized firm replies: "Same as with college men—hard for them to get beyond the period of overconfidence in their superior knowledge of a particular job and feel sufficient respect for the knowledge of others who have real experience. . . . They need emphasis on work rather than pay and training to expect difficulties and rise above them and to respect the work and knowledge of those who lack education."

A progressive firm of shoe manufacturers says: "College women are preferable in the planning and employment work. They quickly grasp new problems and learn quickly. During the war we employed college women in our planning department instead of men. In our planning department we have one woman to three men. Operations now open to women for the first time will remain open to them. Women will always be a poorer risk than men because of

the chance of losing the best ones by marriage. We expect to lose fifty per cent of college trained women through marriage. We estimate that on executive and technical work five women equal four men."

A firm doing a large manufacturing and mail-order business says: "Of the 1,500 people in our office, 1,400 are women and 100 are men. Many department heads are women, and most of our technical work and higher clerical work is done by women. Ninety-nine per cent of our women, however, are not college graduates. Our force is constantly being searched for people to do the more difficult work; and we have a system of training which prepares for the duties of our office. Our clerks spend from two weeks to two months in learning our work, and are constantly being sent back to our training school for development. Our average service for women is five and a half years. Vacancies are filled by the most capable people obtainable, regardless of whether man or woman. The influence of the last four years has given women in business a place comparable to their position in public school work. We believe that business women are as much a fixture as business men."

The employment manager of a large firm manufacturing optical goods and cameras says: "On the value of college versus non-college women, I do not venture an opinion. It seems to me largely an individual question. Some positions require college women—others do not. I should advise technical training for the majority of cases. A college education is helpful for some work, but it requires a personality and initiative to make it valuable. . . . Any generalization upon the relative efficiency of men and women doing similar work would be misleading. The comparison would have to be based upon particular people. Some women are more competent than men, and, on the other hand, some men are more competent than women. I am under the impression that the average woman does not stay in the company's employ as long as the man, and for the reason that the woman works only until she gets married. . . . The war has undoubtedly opened up many new fields for the employment of women. In the majority of cases I feel that

women will hold the positions they have obtained through the war."

A woman employment manager in a company manufacturing watches says: "If jobs are properly selected for interest and suitability, college women are a success. Their business keenness is A-1. On the other hand, they are too ambitious for many jobs. . . . We do not have any women regularly 'on the road,' but we have sent some college women out for periods of from two weeks to two months to get sales experience for our experimental branch work. . . . Women need to be impressed with a more serious and far-reaching purpose in their attitude and training for positions and to make some compromise about employment versus marriage or with marriage, or else they will always be considered a less safe investment than men because of the possibility of loss from matrimony and the lack of real ambition for a long period because of the prospect."

Another woman employment manager in a great rubber company says: "We employ men and women in the same or comparable positions, but less than five per cent of such workers are women. We lack a sufficient number of cases upon which to base a comparison of the work of college and non-college women. Women going into our higher positions need a working knowledge of economics, a broad human experience, and an appreciation of professional ideals. . . . The war has brought us a step nearer making ability and not sex the criterion for determining the individual's fitness for a position."

Another rubber company says: "College education is desirable but not necessary in most of our positions. . . . For our office staff we have typewriter and comptometer schools, and classes in language, drafting, and so on. . . . We estimate that the work of three women is equal to that of two men. . . . We think that the war has made no appreciable changes in the employment of women above the operative or lower clerical group."

A firm of manufacturing chemists says: "We employ college women as chemists. . . . We employ an equal number of men and women, and find their efficiency about the same in positions where physical strength is not required.

As regards persistence, men and women of middle life are more dependable. Women, I believe, are as capable as men, and more contented. There is an ever increasing field for them."

On the other hand, a large firm manufacturing paper products says: "Women do not show as much originality and initiative as men, and are not as dependable. Men are more apt to stay in a given place longer."

Within a year, two local studies of professional women in industry have been made.[1] In May, 1919, the Cleveland Bureau of Occupations for Trained Women issued a small bulletin entitled "Opportunities for Trained Women in Cleveland Factories," giving the results of personal interviews with officials of 125 factories, representing nine different industries. Early in 1920, the Employment Department of the Central Branch of the Young Women's Christian Association issued a somewhat larger bulletin entitled "Executive and Technical Women in Industry," giving the results of a study of 250 factories in and about New York City employing 100 women or more and representing fifteen different industries as well as a number of unclassified establishments. Both studies found the largest number of women in personnel services, as employment or "welfare" managers or assistants, but report others in the production, financial, advertising and sales, and research departments. In Cleveland, women in responsible positions included the general manager of a firm employing twelve hundred men in the manufacture of automobile bodies; a production supervisor in a large clothing factory; assistant buyers for two firms; a claims agent with entire responsibility for settling claims against the company; head cost accountants in four factories; draftsmen in ten; women in the engineering departments of two; chemists or physicists in the laboratories of six; several designers in clothing factories and one in a furniture factory; a decorator in a paint factory,

[1] See also the announcement for 1919-1920 of the *Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research of Bryn Mawr College* for lists of industrial positions held by its graduates and of coöperating firms.

giving advice about household decoration; women advertising workers in three factories, whose work included the preparation of trade catalogues; trained nurses in all large factories and in a number of small ones. In two factories, but only two, a trained dietitian was employed in the lunchroom. Apprenticeship courses, open to women with college training or its equivalent, were found in the three largest clothing factories. Apprentices begin as factory operatives at practically their wage, and after learning all operations thoroughly, which takes usually from six months to a year, are promoted to executive positions according to aptitude and ability. In all departments of one factory, and in some departments of another, none but college trained women are given positions as forewomen. They have extensive connections with the "service" department and more executive responsibility than the average forewomen in other plants. In the metal trades, office and service positions were the only openings found; but several officials expressed the wish that trained women might become interested in this work, in spite of its unattractiveness. "Two employment managers expressed a desire to start in their factories a sort of apprenticeship course for women interested enough to see beyond the dirt and monotony a chance to prove their value for higher positions."

Of the 250 factories in and about New York City, 31 employed no women in responsible positions; 73 employed them only as forewomen; and 146 employed them as executives other than forewomen. One woman was found as director of a firm, one as vice-president, and one as mediator between employees and management. There were also found nine factory managers, one superintendent of all departments, 116 production supervisors, 76 department heads, 46 assistant heads, 99 forewomen hiring for their own departments, 22 office managers, 15 heads of filing departments, 2 head statisticians, 12 statisticians, 6 chief accountants, 9 accountants, 3 advertising managers and one assistant manager, 15 publicity workers, editors, special writers, and copy writers, 16 artists, one buyer, 2 sales executives, 16 saleswomen on the road, 9 chemists, 101 designers, 24 draftsmen, 4 engineers, 17 librarians, assistant

librarians, and translators, one head of a correspondence department and 95 correspondents.

The report shows that the forewomen found in New York factories are mostly of the old type, promoted from the ranks of operatives. It advises candidates for executive and technical positions not to enter as operatives to gain advancement, except on assurance of specific opportunity. There seem to be no definite apprentice courses for college women, such as are found in Cleveland, although it is stated that "the foreman or forewoman is a most important link in the chain of production, and employers are beginning to call for college or technical training for the forewoman's job." The report cites a large candy factory which seeks forewomen with a high degree of education and some special training in foods, preferring women of this type to the brightest of operators, although operators are frequently sent away for the necessary training. It quotes the manager of a corset factory as saying: "Send us several college graduates for forewomen's jobs. We will give them the technical training and the opportunity for advancement." Another manager said: "A woman accountant on our force became interested in production. As she showed marked executive ability, we made her forewoman and later department head. The experiment was so successful that we have repeated it in numerous cases. The woman who works with figures is more exact in estimating and reporting, frequently more impersonal in her dealings with the workers, and seems to command a high degree of respect and coöperation."

The report shows that the better opportunities exist in the larger establishments, and makes it clear that at this stage it is highly important for professional women going into industry to know the labor policy and system of training and promotion of the firm with which they identify themselves. It also urges the growing necessity of specialized training for executive or technical work in the industrial field.

A group of young college women filling our schedules are now serving or have recently served operative apprenticeships in industrial plants in order to qualify for ex-

ecutive positions. Several of them are under twenty-five, and have taken up the work directly after leaving college or after brief training or other experience. Salaries reported are accordingly low, ranging from $936 to $1,500. A young woman graduated in 1917 took the Bryn Mawr course in industrial supervision for eight months; became for three months chief clerk in the record office of a shipbuilding company; and is now in a large thread industry "learning the factory operation of quilling in order to take charge of the instruction." Another graduated in 1911 taught in private and public secondary schools until 1917; then entered a large shoe factory; and in 1918 was executive forewoman in the stitching room, where her duties included making reports, filing records of operatives, and other clerical work, also supervision of sanitary arrangements for women and some supervision of the women employees of the department. She says: "I am in training for an executive position. No definite promises were made; but if I am big enough the job will grow. I have had some training in the educational department of the firm." Her advice to other college women is, "Don't mind getting your hands dirty."

Another graduated in 1914; became immediately an apprentice in a middle western clothing factory for four months; a production foreman for nine months; instruction foreman for three months, and then supervisor of the instruction department. She says: "I plan the work of seven instructors who take charge of teaching all new employees and transfers of old employees. I do disciplining; overseeing of the making up of new models from the designer and changing methods of handling work on the various operations. . . . I took the position with the assurance of 'earning more than a school teacher in a year,' and was told that the field was a growing one and offered opportunities. . . . The firm offers to men and women of executive ability the opportunity to learn the men's garment trade as a preface to foremanship. It employs women wherever possible both for executives and operatives. There are no differences in the pay and opportunities of men and women. Women going into this field should expect to begin from the

bottom up. This requires good health, democratic spirit, and ability to get along with those higher up and those directly under your care. It requires common sense."

As a result of the enlightened policies of this firm, this young woman and others trained by the same firm became during the war traveling inspectors and adjusters for the War Department board for the inspection of standards of army clothing. She is familiar with every operation connected with the making of men's clothing.

Two graduates of 1916 and 1917 respectively are in the planning department of the shoe factory already mentioned. One is planning investigator in the sole leather department, doing time study and efficiency work; the other is supervisor of upper leather planning, and supervises the time studies and efficiency work done by four field agents. She says that there are twelve men in positions comparable to hers, and that there are no differences in the opportunities offered to men and women in the planning department. The firm adopted an efficiency system in 1904, and was one of the first to establish this work on a sound basis. This young woman majored in economics and sociology in college, and was for a year supervisor of public school music in a country town at a salary of $700. She says: "I gave up supervising music because a broader field was offered to me in the business world."

This sort of "efficiency" or "scientific management" work does not attract so many women as does employment or educational work in factories. But it offers a solid basis of fact for either of these types of work, and is likely to lead to responsible positions in production or research. It is the work done by the "industrial engineer," and should appeal to young women interested in the applications of exact measurements and techniques to the problems of industrial production and management. It includes the making of time, motion, and fatigue studies, and through them the preparation of "job analyses" and the standardization of industrial processes.

A well-known industrial engineer writes: "We have not had a very fortunate experience with inducing professional women to take up work in scientific management. Such

work necessitates always a first-hand knowledge of the processes studied; and even during the stress of war, that type of woman—while willing to do any work with her hands as a patriotic duty—did not seem to relish the strenuous apprenticeship necessary to accomplish motion and fatigue studies of value. . . . Of course we have trained a large number of women for positions in scientific management in many of its branches; but these came from the class of women already at work in the industries, whether in the shop or office departments. . . . I do not think the absence of professional women in the scientific management field is in any way due to the unwillingness of the industries to admit them. In fact, I believe it is entirely due to the unwillingness of the women themselves to go through the necessary practical training. . . . We believe that management offers not only an ideal field for the college trained woman, but also that experience in the work is a training for any other type of activity that a woman wishes to enter later, whether in the home or in the so-called 'learned professions.'"

Scientific management has no doubt been pushed into the background by the more spectacular appeal of "employment management" and by the natural interest of women in personnel activities. But as they become more familiar with the inside of factories through serving apprenticeships as operatives and more directly in line for promotion to all departments of factory management, it is probable that those of mathematical and engineering types of mind will turn to this work. It is only through such efficiency studies that a solid basis can be established for satisfactory "industrial relations." With the millions of women in industry it is highly important to have women thoroughly equipped with regard to scientific and humane principles of job and wage setting. Professional women must not be put off with an unscientific kind of "personnel service" which is only another name for "welfare work," but must prepare themselves for an industrial relations service which permeates every aspect of factory operation and management. They should look forward to sharing in matters of labor adjustment. In 1920 a woman stood first on the

Illinois Civil Service list for arbitrators, but was refused appointment by the State Industrial Board.

Professional women of many specialized types of training are likewise increasingly employed in industrial plants: health experts, group feeding experts, psychologists, chemists, physicists, technologists, advertising experts, cost accountants, editors of "house organs," librarians, statisticians, and on so on. These are dealt with in appropriate chapters.

Industrial health service has been enormously developed by the war and by the spread of legislation for workmen's compensation and the movement for health insurance. "Industrial medicine has during the last four years developed into one of the leading branches of the medical profession. When the American Association of Industrial Physicians and Surgeons was organized in 1916, very few concerns had an adequate system of health service for their employees. Now hundreds of industries are equipped with a part or all of the standards demanded by the newer conception of the health of employees, the medical examination of applicants and of the old force, the prevention of industrial accidents by industrial hygiene and safety first, better medical and surgical treatment for the sick and injured, compensation and benefits and the relation of this human maintenance work to other employees' service departments."[1] Two new medical journals, the *Journal of Industrial Medicine* and *Modern Medicine,* are devoted in whole or in part to industrial health problems. The United States Public Health Service has established a section on industrial hygiene, actively coöperating with state departments of labor and industry and state departments of health. Two states have provided for the rehabilitation of industrial cripples, and federal legislation on the subject is pending. Eight medical schools offer courses in industrial medicine. Harvard and the University of Cincinnati have established courses in industrial health with funds contributed by groups of manufacturers. Dr. Alice Hamilton, an authority on industrial diseases, has been appointed to the Harvard

[1] *Monthly Labor Review.* September, 1919.

medical faculty. The Boston Psychopathic Hospital has led in the study of industrial mental hygiene; and a group of experts have been making further investigations in this field. Mental clinics are advocated in all industrial centers, since industrial maladjustment is a potent cause of mental strain and disorder. Women are likely to play an increasing part in the industrial health movement, especially in factories employing large numbers of women workers, not only as physicians, psychiatrists, and public health nurses, but as medical and psychiatric social workers, industrial hygienists, and physical directors. All these types of health worker are discussed in Chapters IV and V.

Women chemists and physicists were very generally admitted to industrial laboratories as testing or research assistants during the war, and have come to stay. On the purely laboratory side they have a chance of reaching positions as chief or director; but as yet they have not entered the field of chemical engineering or gone from the laboratory to plant or department management.[1] Women have been similarly accepted as draftsmen and engineers in certain kinds of office engineering, but have only in rare cases done work in the field. Scientific and technological workers are dealt with in Chapter XVII.

As a result chiefly of the war, there is a new awareness on the part of industrial employers of college and professional women as a source of supply for executive, technical, and research positions and a new awareness on the part of these women of industrial problems from the inside instead of from the outside. We have scarcely begun to realize the psychological and social change involved in having the new generation of professional women interested in industry go through an apprenticeship as operatives as a matter of course rather than as a rare and exciting sociological adventure. One of the first young college women to reach an executive post in a factory through beginning at the bottom reported with humor that her grandmother was hor-

[1] See *The Woman Chemist.* Bulletin No. 4. Bureau of Vocational Information (1921).

rified, her mother puzzled but acquiescent, and her brother enthusiastic over her course. The contacts thus made, the understandings achieved, the friendships formed, will be an asset in working out the more democratic industrial relations of the future. Undergraduates of to-day expect no concessions on the ground that they are women, and talk in a matter-of-fact way of spending their vacations working in a factory. What is more, they do it, and find their own "jobs." Such a use of the last two summer vacations of the college course is coming to be an accepted mode of acquiring pre-professional industrial experience. From "the college woman in industry" may be developed its corollary, "the industrial woman in college," and arrangements may be worked out whereby women operatives of ability and promise may be given the chance for college courses and college contacts. Tests of capacity for college work might well be worked out along the lines of those devised for admission to the "Students' Army Training Corps." The college would profit as much as the industrial woman. Plans for something of the sort are in the air, and it has already been done on a small scale by the school for active workers of the Women's Trade Union League.

The mutual enlightenment of industrial employers and professional women was furthered conspicuously during the war by the "Women's Branch of the Industrial Service Section of the Production Division of the Ordnance Office of the War Department"—an example of the horrors of official nomenclature—which under the direction of Miss Mary Van Kleeck of the Industrial Studies Department of the Russell Sage Foundation was organized to look after the conditions of employment of women in munitions factories, both government arsenals and civilian establishments working on war contracts. Its headquarters and field staff included college professors of economics and sociology, executive secretaries of state minimum wage boards, officials of state departments of labor and industry, secretaries of branches of the Consumers' League and the Women's Trade Union League, personnel and service managers, department store educational directors, industrial secretaries of the Young Women's Christian Association, factory inspectors,

industrial investigators, vocational guidance workers, supervisors of continuation classes. Of thirty-six women in these positions, only two were without direct or indirect industrial experience. At least twelve had likewise been social workers, and seven or eight teachers. This picked group epitomizes the recent history of professional women in relation to industry and labor: the first contact through social work and teaching; the closer although still external familiarity through industrial investigation under public or private auspices and through industrial education and vocational guidance; and, finally, actual employment in industry, first as "welfare" workers and "employment managers," then in operative and supervisory positions concerned with production rather than merely "service." The three-fold contact of these "ordnance women" with industrial employers, industrial workers, and the federal government was an education for all concerned. Moreover, the special services established by the Department of Labor and forming the National War Labor Administration drew heavily upon women industrial experts and upon younger women with special training and experience. For the first time, trade-union women were placed in executive or advisory positions. The Women in Industry Service, long advocated by organizations familiar with the problems of working women, came into existence as a war-emergency measure, with Miss Mary Van Kleeck as director and Miss Mary Anderson, a leading trade-union organizer, as assistant director.

Professional women were attached to other services of the War Labor Administration: the War Labor Board, the War Labor Policies Board, the Information and Education Service, the Working Conditions Service, the U. S. Employment Service, the U. S. Housing Corporation. Others did investigative and statistical work for the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, the War Trade Board, the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics, the Food Administration. Women directed the committees on women in industry established throughout the country by the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defence.

Since the close of the war many of the older women in

industrial and labor war services have returned to their posts with enlarged outlooks and a better understanding of both the advantages and limitations of government administration. The younger women have gone into all sorts of agencies for industrial investigation or into industry itself. Others are pursuing graduate study in the economic and industrial field, having learned the need of as large a grasp as possible of principles and problems and the importance of scientific techniques in industrial research. Certain institutions offer special opportunities for graduate study of this character, among them the universities of California and Wisconsin, Bryn Mawr College, the schools of social work, notably the New York School, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, now the Philanthropic Service Division of the School of Commerce and Administration of the University of Chicago, and the New School for Social Research in New York. This last institution is offering for the year 1920-1921 several fellowships of $2,000 for advanced research in industrial and public problems. Other smaller fellowships are available. The three research fellowships of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston are open to any properly qualified woman college graduate. The fellowships of the Intercollegiate Community Service Association, offered by several of the member colleges, may be used for study of the social bearings of industry. For all graduate work in this field pre-professional courses in economics and labor problems, statistics, psychology, and some form of biology are essential. Courses in history, government, anthropology, and modern languages are of first importance. Contacts are being developed between educational institutions and industrial concerns for the providing of actual shop experience for students as part of their professional training. The Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research of Bryn Mawr College reports such arrangements for its students with fourteen firms in the metal industries, seven in the textile industries, two in paper industries, and two in printing industries, as well as with seven public or private research agencies. The plans of the Technology Clubs Associated, the American Council

on Education, and a large number of leading industries for the professional training of executives have been described. While these plans have reference chiefly to men, professional women also are certain to profit from them eventually.

Outside private agencies for the study and betterment of industrial and labor conditions include (1) organizations primarily religious or philanthropic in character, such as the Young Women's Christian Association with its department of industrial secretaries for work among working women and girls; the National League of Women Workers and other more or less self-governing clubs, and to some extent the Girl Scouts, a body which is beginning to work with older girls; (2) organizations established primarily for publicity and propaganda in the interests of both individual and legislative action, such as the Consumers' League and the National Child Labor Committee; (3) organizations established primarily to draw up programs and to work for improved legislation and proper enforcement of labor laws, such as the American Association for Labor Legislation and to some extent the National Society for the Promotion of Vocational Education; (4) organizations established primarily for research, such as the Department of Industrial Studies of the Sage Foundation, the Bureau of Industrial Research, the National Industrial Conference Board, the Research Department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, the Industrial Survey and Information Service in Washington. The particular groups backing research organizations need to be known. In some cases, they are groups of manufacturers; in a growing number of cases, they are labor unions; in other cases, they are public-spirited citizens. Philanthropic and publicity organizations are supplementing their personal activities with investigations and legislative programs. The Young Women's Christian Association recently issued a pamphlet on the *Legal Recognition of Industrial Women*, and maintains a research department. The Consumers' League has for years made careful industrial studies, and has furthered enlightened labor legislation for women. Its national and branch secretaries have been women of wide reputation;

and young women serving under them receive a valuable training. Opportunities are of course few in number.

State departments or bureaus of labor and industries are growing in number and importance. Forty-five states have some sort of public labor board, many of them active and efficient, though others are not free from political dry-rot. There are frequently other public boards and commissions, temporary or permanent, dealing with industrial matters. Many states now have workmen's compensation boards. Most of these bodies employ well-trained young women as inspectors, investigators, research and statistical workers and a smaller number of experienced women as executive officers. A college woman of experience in industrial investigation has been made a member of the New York State Industrial Commission at a salary of $8,000; another, a former secretary of the New York City Consumers' League, is chief of the women in industry bureau of the same commission. The state industrial welfare commissions of California, Washington, and Kansas have women executive secretaries. Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin have women in charge of state bureaus of women and children in industry. Twelve states, ranging from Massachusetts to California, and the District of Columbia, have minimum wage boards or commissions with women in their membership and women executives.

Before the war the various bureaus of the Federal Department of Labor, especially the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, employed a number of competent women as field agents, special investigators, and so on. Since its establishment, the Children's Bureau has been headed by a college woman, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, and has employed many college women in its child labor, infant mortality, child health, and child welfare work. The nineteen volume *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners* issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1911 was to a considerable extent the work of women investigators. Its recent studies of the cost of living and of industrial conditions have been made by a staff including women. The Department of Labor library is in charge of a woman. The war-emergency Women in Industry Serv-

ice has become a permanent Women's Bureau, with Miss Anderson as director. It employs women industrial experts, but with its present small appropriations positions under it are few.

The importance of the labor union movement has been greatly enhanced by the war and its results; and it is securing as never before the sympathetic interest and in many cases the adherence of professional workers. Organized labor, on its side, is finding out the value of expert and disinterested professional service. For professional women the two aspects of most direct significance are the extension of unions among unorganized women workers[1] and the development of educational projects and agencies by and with the coöperation of organized labor. In the United States, the National Women's Trade Union League of America, established in 1904 by a group of professional women under the leadership of Mrs. Raymond Robins and her sister, has drawn together scattered local unions of women, grown steadily, and come increasingly under the direction of labor women themselves, though admitting other women to membership. It has local branches, and represents about 600,000 organized women. Professional women have been connected with it as executive secretaries, editors, and educational directors. One of the most constructive and prophetic undertakings of the National Women's Trade Union League is the School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement, opened in 1916 at the headquarters of the League in Chicago. This school provides a year's training for women trade unionists recommended by local unions and approved by the executive board; its object is chiefly to develop women organizers. The course has been given partly in coöperation with the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, and has comprised industrial history, women in the labor movement, judicial decisions regarding labor, trade agreements, legislation affecting women and children, parliamentary and office practice, labor or-

[1] See Emilie J. Hutchinson. *Women's Wages*, especially Chapter 7 (1919). *The New Position of Women in American Industry; Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls.* Women's Bureau Bulletins 12, 13 (1920).

ganization, and field work. Other educational undertakings among women workers are the education committee of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the educational department of the Ladies' Waist Makers' Local Number 25 in New York City, which has a university woman as director.

These educational experiments among women trade unionists are part of the larger educational movement among trade unionists in general, which has expressed itself in England for a number of years in the Workers' Educational Association[1] and recently in this country through the establishment of trade union colleges, of which those in Boston and Washington are pioneers. These colleges are governed by a board representing unions, teachers, and students. Many college instructors and other professional workers are on the teaching staffs. While the tendency in this country is to establish separate institutions rather than tutorial classes in connection with the universities and colleges, as in Great Britain, there is a chance to work out between the trade union colleges and academic institutions some system of instruction and exchange scholarships, as this book has already advocated.[2] The new educational contacts between higher education and industry cannot ignore the industrial worker and remain democratic. At recent annual meetings, the American Federation of Labor has passed strong resolutions on the subject of education, including a resolution that all state and local central labor bodies that have not done so be urged to establish a committee on education as one of their standing committees and to make vigorous efforts to secure adequate representation of organized labor on all boards of education. The New York branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is planning a six hundred thousand dollar building, which will be devoted to business, educational, and recreational activities.

Another movement which is spreading among organized

[1] See *Workers' Educational Association Year Book* (1918). *Adult Working-Class Education in Great Britain and the United States.* Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 271. Albert Mansbridge. *An Adventure in Working-Class Education* (1920).

[2] In 1920-1921 Amherst College is offering courses in connection with the Central Labor Unions of Holyoke and Springfield, Mass.

workers and with which professional women are coming to identify themselves is the coöperative movement. The Co-operative League of America acts as a center of information and propaganda. Its development will be a step in the direction of social and economic understanding, since it emphasizes the fact, too often forgotten by both capital and labor, that the industrial worker is a consumer as well as a producer.

Fifteen women connected with industrial agencies other than factories filled our schedules. Their salaries ranged in 1918 and 1919 from $1,000 to $3,500 with a median salary of $1,800. The minimum salary for women in private agencies is $1,000; for women in public agencies, $1,500; the maximum and the median are the same in both cases as for the whole group. In the private group are a secretary on relations with employers of the industrial department of the Young Women's Christian Association; executive secretaries of city and state Consumers' Leagues and of the National Society for the Promotion of Vocational Education; a staff worker in the American Association for Labor Legislation; a secretary of a branch of the Women's Trade Union League; a research worker for the National Industrial Conference Board; the director and assistant director of the research department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. All are college women; two have the master's degree; two, that of doctor of philosophy; several others have done graduate work.

Their advice is as follows: "Secure technical training. Don't 'fall into' work."

"Secure as much theoretical training and industrial experience as possible."

"Get a thorough knowledge of economics, sociology, and statistics, and also familiarity with the various office devices used in statistical work—slide rule, adding machine, typewriter, ruling pen, etc."

In the public group are the executive secretary of a western state industrial welfare commission, a state factory inspector, the executive secretary of a minimum wage board, a special agent in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, an assistant to the director of a war-emergency labor service, a

special agent in charge of trade and industrial education for women and girls of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the director of a vocational bureau in a city public school system. All but one of these women is a college graduate; one has the doctor's degree; one the master's degree; several have done graduate work. They have been college professors, directed public school extension work, served as secretaries and investigators of consumers' leagues; and advise as follows: "Get a knowledge of labor from the inside."

"Cultivate tact and accuracy, and utilize every opportunity of learning about industrial problems."

"Alternate training with actual employment or industrial experience in order that education and experience may supplement each other."

"Take very thorough university and school of civics training, stressing economics, sociology, and applied psychology."

CHAPTER XIII

COMMERCIAL SERVICES, OFFICE AND MERCANTILE. WHAT IS A PROFESSIONAL SECRETARY?

THIS chapter deals with general office and mercantile occupations; the next chapter with the specialized occupations of banking, insurance, public utilities, and real estate; Chapter XV with the closely related field of advertising and publicity. The three groups of occupations have many common procedures, and all three form part of the vast commercial system by means of which modern society carries on the distribution, exchange, and accumulation of property in the form of money, goods, land, buildings, and tools. Commercial activities are commonly referred to as "business," although the term properly covers manufacturing activities as well. It has recently been said that "the beginning and the end of every business enterprise is a marketing problem."[1] In a real sense, offices and mercantile establishments—wholesale, retail, importing and exporting, or "jobbing"—may be compared to manufacturing establishments. They, too, have specialized workers, supervisors, and managers, they, too, have specialized machines—typewriters, dictophones, addressographs, comptometers; they, too, turn out a daily product—correspondence, records, reports, sales. They are borrowing factory methods of routing work and charting progress. Office management and sales management are coming to be as professional as industrial management.[1]

There has never been so much talk of "professional opportunities" in the commercial world,[2] nor so lively an inclination among educated women to "go into business."

[1] C. S. Duncan. *Commercial Research* (1919), P. v.

[2] See Chapter I for a discussion of the professional status of commercial occupations.

But hitherto they have had limited notions of what is comprised under the term, and have thought of it almost altogether as a matter of office practice. They have considered themselves fully equipped with a "business course" of from three to six months at a commercial school or a longer "secretarial course" at a vocational college. Many young women retain this naïve and undiscriminating attitude. Others, through positions with government war-emergency services and large commercial concerns operating under war conditions, have gained a new understanding of the range of commercial organization and the varieties of expert service which it demands. Commercial employers, like industrial employers, have "discovered" college women and are beginning to recruit "promising material," "the upper ten per cent," from the women's colleges as they have been doing for the past ten years from the men's colleges. They are likewise studying their own commercial problems as never before, and establishing research bureaus,[1] personnel departments, and training departments for workers in service. Under these circumstances, it is high time for college women to inquire seriously into positions of professional character in the commercial world; how far they have, or are likely to have, access to them; and what qualifications are necessary for success. So far, the really outstanding women in business have for the most part come up from the ranks of clerical or sales workers through sheer ability and persistence.

The two main types of commercial occupation are office work, the function of which is the planning, recording, and coördinating of buying and selling operations; and trade or mercantile work, the function of which is the actual buying and selling. Office work is of two kinds—quantitative in the form of accounts and statistics, and non-quantitative in the form of correspondence, reports, and so on. Both require executives and experts on the one hand and routine workers, clerks and stenographers, on the other. Both are calling for technical and research experts and for personnel or service workers in increasing numbers. Commercial and industrial organizations have many points

[1] See C. S. Duncan. *Commercial Research.*

in common. Clerks, typists, stenographers, bookkeepers, cashiers, commercial machine and telephone and telegraph operators, retail salespeople, correspond in the commercial world to the skilled and semi-skilled operatives of the industrial world. Office managers, secretaries, traffic managers, floor managers, credit managers, buyers, sales-agents, correspond to the lower or departmental group of factory executives. Superintendents, general managers, merchandise managers, sales-managers, advertising managers, employment or personnel managers, correspond to the upper or staff group of factory executives.

Since commerce is carried on so largely through letters, records, documents, symbols, figures, its routine processes tend to become quite as stereotyped, monotonous, and humanly deadening and exhausting as the most subdivided and mechanical industrial operations. These last at least require dealing with concrete things for concrete uses, and they are likely to involve larger muscular reactions than those called for in manipulating commercial machines, in figuring, or filing. In many respects the lower ranks of clerical workers are looked upon as mere tools to a degree unequaled elsewhere. There is an extraordinary unreality and detachment from life attendant upon continuous dealing with words and figures in a mechanical fashion,—what in the army was despairingly called "paper work." Moreover, clerical workers lack the trade organizations, trade standards, and trade pride that are a source of support and self-respect to skilled industrial workers. Under the pinch of present costs, commercial workers are trying to organize; but they suffer from having so many among them who look upon their work as a transient and stop-gap occupation, and who feel socially superior to industrial workers. The Federal Employees' Union, has, however, perceptibly altered the attitude of government clerks. In both Great Britain and this country representation of civil-service workers in the management of their working conditions is being advocated. One of the tasks ahead of professional workers in the commercial field is to devise with clerical workers provisions for reducing or counteracting the dehumanizing nature of their work. Industrial fatigue has been studied

far more carefully than commercial fatigue. In the solution of this problem professional women may well take an important part; and they need to inform themselves thoroughly regarding every group of commercial workers.[1] They have very generally clung to secretarial, managerial, and expert positions.

In 1910, 65.8 per cent of all clerical workers were men; 34.2 per cent were women. Of stenographers and typists, 82.1 per cent were women and 17.9 per cent were men; of clerks, 83.3 per cent were men and 16.7 per cent were women; of bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants, 60.3 per cent were men and 39.7 per cent were women. Although clerical workers are not themselves professional, their distribution is pertinent to our discussion as showing the different doorways through which men and women commercial workers advance to positions of professional responsibility. Miss Stevens's study of boys and girls in commercial work made in 1916 as part of the Cleveland Education Survey bears out the census figures, and discusses their significance. It finds among commercial executives 96 per cent men and 6 per cent women, and draws the conclusion that the vast majority of men reach administrative positions through other routes than the route of stenography; that clerkships offer a better chance of learning the business, and are far more open avenues of promotion. "Shorthand has indeed been the key to that future which business opened to girls; but shorthand for boys has proved a key which as time goes on unlocks fewer and fewer of the doors they want to go through."

It cannot of course be argued that men have reached these higher positions solely because they have refused to study stenography. The division of clerical functions between men and women is due to a variety of causes. Women began to enter commercial life at about the time when the

[1] See *Commercial Occupations.* Opportunity Monograph No. 23. Federal Board for Vocational Education (1919). Office Employees. Descriptions of Occupations. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1919). May Allinson. *The Public Schools and Women in Office Service* (1914). Bertha M. Stevens. *Boys and Girls in Commercial Work in Cleveland* (1916); *Private Commercial Schools in New York City* (1918).

typewriter was put upon the market and systems of shorthand were perfected, and naturally engaged in a new type of work not yet preëmpted by men. It required, moreover, a detailed skill of the sort in which women, rightly or wrongly, have been considered particularly apt. Through stenography and typing women have gained a foothold in commercial occupations that they could have secured in no other way. Through these routine skills, some able women have obtained an insight into commercial organization and operation that has won for them advancement to more important posts. But the days are fast passing when the office boy, the junior clerk, or the stenographer with little education can forge ahead and become a manager or an official of the company. For both men and women advancement in business is coming to depend upon thorough preparation plus successful experience. While it cannot be said that all doors in business are as yet wide open to women, they are at least ajar, and business men are even peering curiously through them to see how many women are really prepared to enter and to shoulder their full share of responsibility. It is therefore incumbent upon educated women looking forward to "business careers" to ask themselves how far they should continue to use the road of stenography, to what positions of a professional type it leads, and what other roads are now open to them or ready to be broken.

There is no doubt that stenography has been the road to the position of private secretary, the chief goal of the educated woman in the recent past. In fact, so great has been the prestige of the title "secretary" that it has been eagerly appropriated by many a stenographer; and the implications of the term and the boundaries of the position have been exceedingly ill-defined. Positions and training courses have been called "secretarial" that have had slender claims to professional standing. But of late there have been efforts to distinguish clearly between the stenographer and the secretary and to establish the professional character of the secretarial worker.

The monograph on *Commercial Occupations* of the Federal Board for Vocational Education says: "Executives in

responsible positions are finding it necessary more and more to rely upon efficient secretarial help. Such an executive must generally have some assistant who is thoroughly familiar with every detail of his activities, and is able to assume responsibility for innumerable details connected with the day's work. . . . There is a wide gap between secretarial and stenographic duties. Skill in shorthand and typewriting is now recognized as desirable for the secretary, but the possession of this skill does not insure secretarial efficiency. . . . It is quite likely that a period of apprenticeship as a stenographer will continue to be a very desirable part of one's training for the higher duties of a secretarial position. . . . The trained secretary relieves the executive of all detail by keeping him informed as to the important happenings in the business world that may be of particular interest, . . . by gathering data for the preparation of papers and speeches, by standing between him and the public . . . and in every way by keeping the executive's time free for the more important managerial responsibilities devolving upon him."[1]

This and other descriptions which might be quoted emphasize the point that a secretary's principal function is that of representing the executive, that he is a person with delegated but responsible executive duties. They are written with men secretaries in mind, and call attention to the important executive positions to which secretaryships may lead. This use of secretarial positions is far less frequent for women than for men. In fact, women have considered such positions as goals; men have considered them as stepping-stones. A much higher type of woman than of man has been willing to be permanently a secretary, and has consequently been in steady demand. This difference in the secretarial appeal to men and to women is reflected in the fact that there are secretarial courses of university and college grade for women and no similar courses for men.

The recognition of secretarial work as a distinct and special profession for women marks a stage in their business evolution beyond which they are already beginning to pass. The fact that women are now holding important

[1] Vocational Rehabilitation Series, Number 23 (1919).

posts under the title of "assistants to executives" means that the business world is making a last stand before admitting them to full executive responsibility. But it also means that women must ask themselves whether secretarial training as now given is the best approach to management. An efficient secretary to an executive undoubtedly shoulders responsibility of a sort, and has daily opportunities to exercise quick-wittedness, resourcefulness, good humor, and tact. She must anticipate situations, keep her head in emergencies, and act always as a buffer between her superior and the pressure of people and details. She needs a trained mind, an acquaintance with sources of information, and a knowledge of the operations of the business with which she is connected. But when all is said, she remains an intermediary without final responsibility and with limited independence. She is at best only a "detail executive" and not an "idea executive." Her opportunities even for intellectual development depend largely upon the personality of her employer; and she lacks the stimulus of sharing in the working out of group plans of action. Her position is somewhat like that of the bedside nurse.

In the past, young college women have often chosen secretarial work because of the brevity and cheapness of the training, its assurance of steady if moderate financial returns, its combination of a new range of experiences and more or less sheltered conditions. Few of them have gone into it in a fully professional spirit, and many have failed to realize that to raise it to a professional level they must command a special subject matter as well as certain purely instrumental skills. A young woman who is "secretary" now to a publisher, now to a department-store superintendent, now to a wholesale woolen merchant, now to the executive of a social agency, is not a professional worker in any real sense. To-day with larger commercial prospects before women and with various "training in service" systems in operation in progressive commercial establishments, secretarial work ceases to be an exclusive or preferred line of advancement for either men or women. In fact, it has certain psychological disadvantages. A recent book on the training of a salesman calls attention to this. "The secre-

tarial type of man and the executive type of man are almost the exact opposites, but it is sometimes very difficult to detect the secretarial type and avoid his appointment to executive posts. Frequently he makes a better first impression than the executive type. . . . Perhaps plausibility is one of the symptoms of the secretarial type of man. I rather think it is. . . . If, when you ask him for a definite result, a man merely describes the methods he proposes to employ, you can be pretty certain that he is the secretarial type of man who in the event of failure will say, 'Well, I did all I could. It isn't up to me. My skirts are clear.' On the other hand, the true executive is seldom very ready with alibis or excuses. When his ship sinks, he usually goes down with it—his colors nailed to the mast." [1]

On the other hand, secretarial work, while no longer the sole nor the highest opportunity for women in business, affords a certain amount of professional scope and is generally accessible to educated women. Women who are detail-minded and quicker to anticipate and carry out the ideas of others than they are to think for themselves are better fitted to be secretaries than they are to be managers or research workers. It is to be hoped that dependable specifications and tests for the three types may be worked out before long. People show a distressing tendency to ascribe to themselves "executive ability." Mr. Maxwell observes in his amusing chapter, "Wanted—A Man with Executive Ability": "In hiring men I have frequently asked the question 'Do you feel that you have native executive ability?' I do not recall that I ever received a negative answer."

Not all secretaries by any means are attached to commercial organizations. There are secretaries to executives of educational, social, and governmental organizations and departments; secretaries to professional practitioners—ministers, doctors, lawyers, writers, and so on; so-called "social" secretaries to persons of wealth and leisure. Executive or general secretaries of boards and associations perform administrative and managerial duties rather than those of a secretary proper. But no secretary is entitled to consider

[1] William Maxwell. *The Training of a Salesman* (1919), pp. 196-198.

herself a professional person who does not possess in addition of her clerical skills a background knowledge and a thorough practical familiarity with the special field in which she is working. An intensive study of opportunities for women in secretarial service was issued in 1914, based on records of 1,500 women who had taken the secretarial course at Simmons College or were registered in the Appointment Bureau of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston.[1] It shows the prevalent loose use of the term "secretary," the distribution in the several fields, the education and the remuneration received. A similar study made to-day would undoubtedly reveal a clearer conception of secretarial duties, a larger number of positions of approximately professional character, and a substantially higher level of salaries.[2]

Although stenography is as yet a necessary part of the equipment of any woman entering the secretarial field, its importance is likely to be overestimated even there. The more a woman's duties are really those of a professional secretary, the less likely she is to be called upon to take dictation herself. In a large office, she has stenographers under her or at the call of herself or her employer. In this case, she merely directs them, and supervises the results. In a small office, or with a private employer, she may sometimes have to do stenographic work; but if she is really a secretary, she is herself responsible for a large part of the correspondence, submitting the completed letters for approval and signature, or sometimes sending them under her own name. There are those who think that the dictaphone, the stenotype, and other appliances are making stenography itself of diminishing importance. There is no doubt, however, that every secretary—in fact, every professional woman—should use the typewriter with facility. It is likewise of advantage to know enough of office practices and the operation of the various office machines to supervise work

[1] *Vocations for the Trained Woman.* Part 2. *Opportunities in Secretarial Service* (1914).

[2] *The Bulletin of the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations* for October, 1920, is devoted to secretarial work, and contains valuable reports from the various bureaus and "case histories" of women secretaries.

intelligently and to estimate the amount of time necessary to perform it.

Closely allied to the secretary and usually with similar training is the correspondent, who dictates herself or supervises all letters going out from an office. In some establishments, no piece of first-class mail goes out without being reviewed by one person. Export and import houses, banks with foreign branches or connections, all commercial organizations concerned with foreign trade, employ workers with a command of languages as foreign correspondents. The war has enormously stimulated American interest in foreign trade, and widened the demand for well equipped workers. The National City Bank has trained carefully selected groups of young college men as managers of branches in foreign countries and groups of young college women as correspondents. A foreign correspondent must have a thorough knowledge of the particular kind of trade and the particular country with which she is dealing; and ordinary college courses in modern languages, even if topped by a course in "commercial usage," and training in stenography, will not equip her to advance far on the road from routine to responsible commercial work. She needs a far more fundamental preparation involving as rich a background knowledge as possible of the language, customs, and social psychology of the foreign country, special professional courses in the principles and techniques of foreign trade, and actual apprenticeship with an organization engaged in this type of business. For the present, this apprenticeship is likely to be most easily secured through routine experience as stenographer. But with the many new courses in foreign trade now being offered by universities, there will undoubtedly be coöperative training arrangements with business organizations by means of which there will be more direct and less wasteful modes of approach to positions of the professional correspondent type. Meanwhile, the details of business usage in a foreign language can be easily and quickly secured by any one with a good general knowledge of the tongue. College "commercial courses" in a foreign language are therefore largely a waste of time. They take time from the larger preparation which only the college can

provide, and usually prove not wholly applicable to the concrete commercial situations encountered later.

There is a widespread belief among commercial employers, partly a superstition, partly founded on cases in their experience, that college women, like clerical women, are a shifting labor supply, looking upon their work as a "stop-gap" occupation and leaving it on account of marriage or from mere whim. While they complain that college women are not willing to "begin at the bottom" as college men are learning to do, they refrain from holding out to them as they do to college men, the assurance that by so doing they may "come out at the top." It is high time for some one of the organizations for commercial research to study the "turnover" of comparable groups of college men and college women and to discover to what extent generalizations based on clerical women are justified in the case of professional women. With the same prospects of advancement, women are likely to approximate men's stability in employment. At present the entire situation is in a transitional state, complicated by all sorts of "folkways" and leisure notions regarding women.

Meanwhile, there is ground for at least a strong suspicion that the massing of women in stenography stands in the way of their advancement to positions of responsibility. A stenographer with a college degree is no more a professional worker than a stenographer without a college degree; and she may sometimes be kept from advancement because of the very fact that she is so useful to her employer where she is. For an educated woman to become an expert stenographer is to run a real risk of exploitation. In his sprightly chapter on the Fifty-Dollar a Week Girl, Mr. Maxwell says: "If I were a girl, I should not study stenography, but if I were a stenographer, I should study advertising." A successful woman in an investment house gives this advice: "Let me say in capital letters DON'T LEARN STENOGRAPHY if you have any ambition to go beyond it. Stenographers, because of the noise of their machines, are generally kept together in a sort of harem remote from the pulse of business. Their work is too mechanical to teach them much. They are too busy to

study and too well paid to break away into other departments, most of which pay less well for the first few years." [1] Professionally, stenography appears to be governed by a law of diminishing returns, and in most cases to be a "blind-alley" occupation for the well-trained and ambitious woman. If she wishes to acquire it as a useful commercial skill, she should be under no illusions as to its adequacy in itself as a means of professional advancement.

Well organized commercial firms are rapidly establishing definite courses of instruction for "learners in service," and are on the lookout for promising young men and women with good educational background and preferably some professional preparation in commerce, business administration, and finance. Educated women planning a business career should expect to serve a period of apprenticeship, and should make every effort to secure their initial positions with firms which offer these courses or at least make a practice of trying out beginners by "rotating" them through their several departments. It is no less important in business than in social work or industry to become connected at first with an organization which has a policy of educational supervision and systematic promotion. Just as young college women are nowadays operating machines in factories as a necessary part of their training for managerial or expert positions and selling behind counters in department stores as a necessary part of their training for positions as "educational directors," so they must be prepared to serve for a definite period as clerks or bookkeepers or salesmen "in the shop" or "on the road," as a necessary part of their training for responsible commercial positions of various sorts. In such a recognized apprenticeship, a command of any of the routine office skills—not only stenography and typing but also filing, stencil-cutting, and above all operating of the comptometer or other computing machines—gains a new kind of importance as giving the learner an understanding of the details of office work and also of the minds of fellow workers.

Since the beginning of the war there has been a remark-

[1] Elizabeth E. Cook. *Opportunities for Women in Finance. Journal Association Collegiate Alumnæ.* Vol. XI.

able increase in the use of computing machines in financial and statistical work. The old-time bookkeeper has practically disappeared in large organizations, and has been superseded by the accountant-bookkeeper, a professionally trained worker in charge of a number of machine operators. Thus commerce like industry is becoming more and more a matter of specialized machine operation on the one hand and professional direction on the other. With the prospect of both groups of workers being represented in management, it becomes imperative for each to understand the other and especially for those who manage to have had some genuine working experience among those who operate.

Hitherto the woman office manager has been recruited principally from the rank and file of clerical workers on the score of personality and ability to direct and supervise others. She has had the advantage of knowing at first-hand the details of office practice and the ways of the people under her. But like the old type of industrial foreman, she has had inevitably a narrow outlook, and like him has sometimes tended to become a hard and petty "boss." With the development of the science of business organization and administration, the standardizing of office procedures, and the employment of large numbers of routine clerical workers, the position of office manager is attracting vigorous-minded and resourceful young women to whom secretarial work seems a rather pallid occupation. To what extent professional office managers will continue to approach the position through one of the office skills remains to be seen. They will certainly need some kind of office apprenticeship as well as the larger training of a school of business administration. In commerce as in industry there is need of an exchange of views and training between workers with only an educational equipment and workers with only a practical equipment. The schools of commerce and business of university grade are likely to make coöperative training arrangements with commercial organizations as the schools of engineering and economics are making them with the industries. Meanwhile, the new Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs could perform no more useful service than to form a small

committee of women with large practical knowledge of business management and women with professional training in commerce and finance to work out a tentative program of class work and field work for prospective office managers and other business executives and also to encourage successful business women without adequate educational background to enroll in special courses dealing with problems of business administration. There is a growing demand for expert office organizers.

Expert accountancy is a commercial occupation of professional standing and of increasing importance. It offers a highly specialized type of work to women who are interested in modern commercial movements and methods, but who are not strongly drawn or temperamentally suited to the difficult adjustments of management. Probably for the present women will have to meet fewer obstacles on account of their sex in these expert services of a non-executive character. A recent bulletin of vocational information says: "Accounting is a broader term than bookkeeping. The accountant is called upon to install the system of records while the bookkeeper enters the figures which pertain to various transactions as they occur. The accountant is the systematizer and organizer and finally the auditor who establishes the accuracy of the work or detects the errors in it. The science of accounting as distinguished from bookkeeping is comparatively new . . . In large modern manufacturing or mercantile establishments, with many departments intricately related with each other and with the world outside, the points where economies may be effected or losses develop become very numerous and often difficult to detect. It is this magnitude and complexity of modern business which calls for the aid of the trained accountant." [1]

The highest type of accountant is the certified public accountant who passes difficult state examinations, and receives the degree of C. P. A. Since 1896, forty-two states have established these examinations by law. There are

[1] *Vocational Information.* Leland Stanford Junior University, June, 1919.

local and national societies of certified public accountants. Many of these public accountants practice independently or as consultants in the same way as doctors, lawyers, and architects. Others are employed by large corporations. Under them are junior and senior accountants, who have had a certain amount of training and experience, but who have not yet been certified. Many students of accountancy take vacation positions in accounting offices as the practical part of their preparation, or continue their professional study while regularly employed. The two main types of accountant are the general expert accountant, who frequently serves as auditor or comptroller, and the cost accountant, who is employed by manufacturing or public-utility corporations to analyze the costs of production or service. These methods are also being applied to the operating, purchasing, and sales departments of commercial organizations. Modern systems of "functional accounting" and budget making have been worked out by such agencies as bureaus of municipal or governmental research, and are being adopted by municipal, state, and federal departments of government.

The federal government has need of many more accountants than it used before the war. Foreign loans, bond issues, and new taxes call for a small army of workers. Recent civil service examinations have been held for accounting and statistical clerks at salaries ranging from $1,200 to $1,620; for accountants for the Federal Trade Commission at salaries from $1,800 to $3,600; for examiners of accounts for the Interstate Commerce Commission at salaries from $2,220 to $3,000; for investigators in accounting and office management at salaries from $2,000 to $3,000; for experts to devise new systems, or to verify income and excess-profits tax returns for the Treasury Department; for senior and junior cost accountants; for resident and traveling auditors. During January and February 1919, 4 women and 244 men were appointed to accountancy positions under the federal government, the women's salaries ranging from $1,400 to $2,000; the men's from $1,200 to $5,000.[1]

[1] *Women in the Government Service.* Bulletin No. 8. Women's Bureau (1920).

A woman head of a division in the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department is receiving a salary of $5,000. State and municipal governments likewise require accountants. The complexities of the new taxes have created a demand for accountants who are specialists in taxation. The prospective federal Budget Bureau and other applications of budget making suggest opportunities.

As these figures suggest, women are only beginning to go into accounting as a profession. But their number is increasing; and there are a few women certified public accountants. The lower salaries received by women are in large measure due to their inferior training and brief experience. Thoroughly equipped women stand a good chance of salaries equal to those of men of similar qualifications. It is highly important for women to keep in mind that accounting techniques are only the instruments of the profession, and can be successfully used only by workers with an understanding of their background and purpose and with a keen interest in the problems to be solved by their means. Mere accounting clerks have little claim to professional status. The ability to interpret results and to incorporate them in clear and cogent reports is essential to the professional accountant.

In the past, it has been difficult to draw the line between two comparatively new commercial occupations, that of filing expert or supervisor and that of business librarian. Modern library techniques and appliances have been adapted to the filing of business correspondence, documents, and records of all sorts; and modern business has increasingly made use of reference material in the form of catalogues, trade journals, government and commercial reports and statistics. In many cases women with library training have successfully handled both the installing and the supervision of a modern filing department and the management of a business reference library for the use of the executive and expert staff of the organization. During the war librarians were in great demand for filing service in government departments. But with the amplification of business filing systems and methods on the one hand and of information

and research departments on the other, there is coming to be a clearer distinction between filing supervisors and librarians. Filing is seen to be an arm of office service; librarianship an arm of staff service. The filing expert needs a thorough understanding of business administration and office practice in general and of the business with which she is connected in particular, rather than a full library training. The techniques of filing and indexing she may acquire at a school of filing, a number of which now exist, or through apprenticeship in a good filing department. All manufacturers of filing apparatus issue bulletins on the subject, and there is a special journal, *Filing,* published in New York. The Library Bureau has recently issued a bulletin, *Filing as a Profession for Women* (1919). A woman who is constantly studying the filing problems of her firm and seeking to improve its system, and who supervises a corps of filing clerks, may be said to occupy a position with many professional responsibilities.

The business librarian, however, needs a professional library training and specialization in commercial materials and methods. Her work more and more tends to ally itself with the departments of planning and research, information and publicity. In smaller organizations, she herself sometimes does statistical work, or prepares reports, trade catalogs and other publicity material. She may be editor or assistant editor of a "house organ." Her work has been unstandardized and in process of evolution but is becoming more clearly defined. In the past, business librarianship has been one of the best available ways for educated women to secure a thorough understanding of all sides of a business and one of the best avenues of promotion. In the future, it is more likely to lead to positions in research and information departments than to executive positions. But it is in itself a type of special librarianship and of permanent professional value. The business librarian needs to be quick to see the needs of her organization, to have her material readily available for busy executives, and at times to call it to their attention. (See Chapter XVIII.) She needs to keep in close touch with other special libraries and Librarians.

Commercial research is a newer development than industrial research, but is following much the same lines. It may be carried on by a single organization; by a group of organizations, as in the case of the Retail Research Association; or by special service organizations, such as the Babson Statistical Organization. It includes investigation and information as well as research in the narrower sense, and has for its object the more intelligent and effective conduct of commercial enterprises through a careful study of their methods of operation, a comparison with other enterprises of the same kind, and the introduction of improvements through carefully controlled experiments. It studies problems of merchandising, buying, selling, and personnel; and makes use of accounts, business statistics, and various efficiency and psychological tests. The attitude of mind required, the methods of collecting and controlling facts and working out new theories and programs, do not differ from those necessary in investigation and research of any kind. An adequate knowledge of commercial principles, facts, and practices can be acquired only through professional training of a high type including field training in investigation and calling preferably for the doctor's degree and at least for a master's degree. The newness of commercial research as well as its character and range may be gathered from several recent books on the subject. There is a growing demand for business statisticians who shall be not merely routine statistical clerks but able to plan and interpret as well as to collect and tabulate facts.[1] Since commercial research is only in its lusty beginnings, it offers an especially promising field for women of the right type who are willing to take the proper training. It is a field also in which achievement is likely to be more readily recognized than in the field of commercial management.

The new ideas and practices in regard to training both routine and professional commercial workers provide a larger opportunity for women in commercial education. It is no longer a matter of teaching stenography, typewriting,

[1] See Duncan, *Commercial Research* (1919); J. G. Frederick, *Business Research and Statistics* (1920); M. T. Copeland, *Business Statistics* (1917).

bookkeeping, and the rudiments of office practice in commercial high schools or business schools run for profit. Even in high schools, the work of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, chambers of commerce, and other agencies is making the instruction less formal; and plans are on foot for part-time practice work in business offices. The growth of vestibule and service schools in business corporations is a challenge to women of education and experience to work on the many problems of training in service.[1] As yet, women have taken practically no part in the instruction in university schools of business. But as they secure more important commercial posts, and there are more women students in these schools, such positions are likely to open to them.

Professional preparation for commercial positions is rapidly broadening in scope, and is to be found in institutions of several types: (1) higher institutions for women with secretarial departments and special one-year courses for graduates of academic colleges—such as Simmons College, the Connecticut College for Women, Rockford, Milwaukee-Downer, and Mills Colleges, the Margaret Morrison Carnegie School of the Carnegie Institute, Drexel and Lewis Institutes; (2) university schools of commerce and business administration—such as the schools of the universities of California, Chicago, Illinois, Minnesota, and Washington, the School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance of New York University, the Columbia School of Business, the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration; (3) special higher business schools not connected with universities—such as the Alexander Hamilton and Pace Institutes in New York and the new Babson Institute near Boston; (4) university extension and coöperative courses for commercial workers already in service—such as courses in foreign trade, taxation, finance, and so on, given by New York, Columbia, and Boston Universities; (5) courses given by business corporations themselves—such as those of the Larkin Company in Buffalo, the rubber companies, the William Filene Sons Company in Boston, the National City

[1] See Publications of National Association of Corporation Schools.

Bank, and the Henry L. Doherty Company in New York. Some of these are only beginning to train other than clerical workers.

An increasing number of young college women, especially in the west, are equipping themselves for business not through "secretarial courses" but through university schools of commerce and business. A group of such young women came to Washington during the war in the wake of their professors who were acting as experts in various capacities for the government. They collected and organized information with regard to the world's supply of raw and manufactured products, their distribution and control. They constructed price tables; they made shipping and tonnage charts; they became familiar with market fluctuations for each commodity. They grew to be authorities on wool and leather and sugar and wheat. And they did their work largely under men who were leading business men in these several fields, and who thus became aware of college women as a new professional labor supply.

The professional schools of commerce and business prepare for a wide range of commercial occupations, offering such courses as business organization and administration, office organization and procedure, business statistics, accountancy, foreign trade and shipping, economic and industrial history, economic geography, transportation, banking and finance, public utilities, insurance, advertising and trade journalism, employment management, marketing, and business psychology. The Harvard School maintains a Bureau of Business Research, and has made intensive studies of the wholesale and retail shoe and grocery businesses. These schools recommend as pre-professional undergraduate courses elementary economics and finance, history, modern languages including Spanish, physiography, chemistry and physics, mathematics through calculus, and a knowledge of mechanical drawing.

There is no one way of securing commercial positions with a professional future. A list of progressive commercial organizations with modern employment and training departments and systems of promotion is greatly needed. Professional schools of business have many connections and

calls for their students. A number of commercial organizations write directly to the colleges when they wish beginners of good general education; and others make use of the bureaus of occupations for trained women and of the better type of business agencies. Many advertise in appropriate newspapers or trade journals. Direct application by letter with a request for an interview still has advantages. This method is less hit-or-miss now that so many firms are installing personnel departments, and know more definitely in advance the workers they are likely to need. A perusal of the "Help Wanted" columns for both men and women in such a commercial advertising medium as the *New York Sunday Times* reveals the different opportunities of the sexes and also furnishes in many cases what are in effect "personnel specifications" prepared by various firms.

Nineteen women in office positions filling our schedules reported salaries in 1918 and 1919 ranging from $1,020 to $2,700 with a median salary of $1,500. Seven secretaries received salaries ranging from $1,020 to $2,650 with a median salary of $1,300; seven office-managers received salaries ranging from $1,040 to $1,820 with a median salary of $1,500; two other managers received salaries of $1,060 and $1,600; three filing supervisors received salaries ranging from $1,500 to $2,700 with a median salary of $2,650. Nine of these women are college graduates, six with an additional year of secretarial training at Simmons College; four have had partial college training, legal training, or normal training; the other six are high-school graduates. All but one of the secretaries are college graduates; three of the seven office managers; none of the filing supervisors. The median length of service for the college group is four years; for the non-college group, thirteen and a half years. While the salary figures on their face are not encouraging to the college graduate thinking of going into business, since the median salary of the college group is only $1,300; of the Simmons group only $1,370; of the miscellaneous group $1,550; and of the non-college group $1,660, they are based on too few instances to warrant general conclusions, and probably mean only that college women are a new labor supply in the commercial world, and have been prone to

sidetrack themselves as secretaries.[1] During the war many federal departments established a salary scale for stenographers of from $1,200 to $1,400; for secretaries of from $1,500 to $1,800, with higher rates for "executive assistants"; for accounting clerks and statistical assistants of from $1,200 to $1,800. The Bureau of Vocational Information says that salaries for junior accountants range from $1,000 to $1,800; for senior accountants from $2,000 to $3,500 or more; in independent practice, fees are from $10 to $20 a day for juniors and at least $25 a day for seniors.[2] No woman performing genuinely secretarial duties should accept to-day an initial salary of less than $1,500. Secretaries of experience and carrying considerable responsibility are receiving salaries up to $3,000 and even beyond.[3] Exceptional women in managerial positions already command large salaries, and the number, range, and compensation of such positions are increasing. It only remains for college and professional women to display the persistence, intelligence, and courage needed in modern commercial work and thus to prove beyond a doubt that they are capable of being more than clerks and subordinates. They will have to earn promotion as young college men earn it; and they must never forget that assumptions of belonging to a superior educational or social group are serious handicaps to commercial success, as, indeed, they are coming to be everywhere. Education tells, not where a person begins, but where that person comes out.

[1] Non-commercial office workers report as follows: Secretaries to college executives or departments, $728 to $1,200 with a median salary of $1,000; secretaries to executives of large social organizations, $1,560 and $1,800; secretaries with executive responsibilities in educational and social organizations, $1,500 to $2,000 with a median salary of $1,800; secretary of a hospital X-ray department, $1,140; secretaries to philanthropic women, $1,140 and $3,000; secretary to a municipal board, $1,500.

[2] *Vocations for Business and Professional Women* (1919).

[3] During 1920, advertisements in the *New York Times* of positions to be filled by commercial employment agencies show salaries for experienced women office workers ranging from $25 to $40 a week. A report on salaries of women office workers in New York City issued in 1920 by the Merchants' Association gives a range of from $25 to $70 a week.

Some of our schedules show the overlapping duties of women in office positions, and make shrewd comments on the prospects in this field. A young Simmons graduate who is secretary to the treasurer of two large corporations says: "I keep private accounts, do shorthand, typewriting, and filing, plot cost charts and statistics, make reports of stock markets, meet people, see all cotton brokers, read all reports or articles, such as war-taxes, Babson's financial reports, *Commerce and Finance;* in short, do everything to save the time of my employer. . . My salary is raised automatically a hundred dollars a year. . . . If possible after graduating from college, I would advise a girl to spend another year at some college to get a master's degree. This I am trying to do now, having gone to .... University in the evening last year, and I expect to study at Columbia this summer."

Another young woman, a graduate of Radcliffe and Simmons, is secretary and assistant to the salesmanager of the hospital sales department of a firm manufacturing surgical dressings. She says: "I organize the work of the department, answer correspondence, check and solicit sales, adjust claims and complaints." She seems to be an assistant manager rather than a secretary, since she carries considerable independent responsibility.

A graduate of Vassar and Simmons is secretary in the industrial bureau of a great merchants' association. She says: "I dictate answers to part of the correspondence, answer industrial inquiries, inaugurate files of all sorts, work up statistics, and in general act as assistant to the manager, who is the only one above me. . . . I should advise women not to enter as stenographers but as secretaries. . . . If I were to do the thing over, I should omit shorthand and typewriting. I think a college education will get you ahead faster without it. This position cannot be considered as anything but a school for an ambitious woman because there is no future requiring more than ordinarily good routine thought. College women who fancy they are going to be satisfied helping some wonderful professor or beneficent social worker will soon realize that they are too big for this sort of thing, that they need an outlet for their

own ability rather than a place in which they serve to develop the ability of others."

A Simmons woman who is private secretary to a lawyer and who was previously an assistant registrar in a college and with a well-known law firm says: "I do shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping, and keeping of records. I attend to all details of investments, prepare income tax reports, and keep trustees' accounts. I meet and dispose of callers. . . . I have found it desirable to perfect my knowledge of French and to familiarize myself with certain laws, especially those relating to taxation. Practically all my secretarial training has been useful. . . . Shorthand and typewriting were indispensable. For my position a college education and experience in a law office are required." In seven years her salary has been increased from $1,500 to $2,650.

A Wellesley and Simmons woman is office-manager in a law firm. She says: "I keep a set of corporation books; I have general oversight of supplies, repairs, equipment, records, etc. I distribute work for the office, see applicants, answer inquiries, and have general supervision. The policy of my employers is to employ women at current rates in all positions where the profit to the firm is as great as it would be were a man employed. In my secretarial training, business administration and office appliances might well have received more emphasis."

A chief clerk or office manager with a firm dealing in paper makers' supplies and maintaining a bureau of investigation and statistics for certain branches of paper manufacture, is responsible to the general manager. She says: "I have general charge of all correspondence and supervision of routine. I am responsible for securing all clerks and conducting their work. I carry out all the office policies under the instructions of the management. . . . My advice to other women is to perform faithfully and intelligently the work required of you and to strive to outgrow what you see in store for you in the way of advancement, so that in facing the possibility of reaching your limit in an organization, you will be ready for new fields." She is not a college woman, and after ten years with the firm receives a salary of $1,820.

Another woman is assistant to the manager of the truck tire department in the branch office of a great rubber company. She says: "I have charge of the correspondence, supervision of stock, service station, and all matters pertaining to the department. I am in charge during the manager's absence. Women are not employed in this department in any other of the company's branches." She is not a college graduate, but has taken some college courses while employed.

A woman for many years employed by a firm of patent attorneys has charge of the details of foreign patent work, trade-mark registration, bookkeeping, and record work. She has taken a law course at an evening school of law. She says: "Except that it is preferable to have men attorneys to meet men clients, I think employers are indifferent as to whether men or women make up their office force."

The attitude of the younger professional women in business is shown by a file systematizer in the experimental station of a great chemical and explosives company who says: "I study the business, perfect a filing system, install it, train clerks, and so on. . . . My advice is, don't build too small. There is plenty of room for intelligence and initiative. Study business organization. I have found chemistry, economics, finance, and accounting most useful in my working experience. My employers are glad to pay traveling expenses when I wish to visit other filing departments, which I have done extensively." This young woman has had numerous college courses and two years' study in a university school of business as well as a course at a school of filing. She receives a salary of $2,600 a year.

A young woman of twenty-four with some normal school training and previous experience as a telegraph clerk and life insurance agent is chief file clerk in a western oil pipe line company. She files correspondence, sorts mail, directs messenger force, and answers inquiries, receiving a salary of $1,500.

In the mercantile branch of commercial service, professional women, as has been said, occupy a much more im-

portant place in retail than in wholesale trade, and have devoted themselves to study of the problems of retail selling in the department store and almost not at all to the problems of outside selling, except so far as they are dealt with through advertising, discussed in Chapter XV. The interest of educated women in department store work and their systematic training for it have been due until very recently almost entirely to the pioneer school of retail salesmanship in Boston, conducted since 1905 under the direction of Mrs. Lucinda W. Prince and under the joint auspices of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and Simmons College.[1] In 1918 it became the Prince School of Education for Store Service, affiliated with these educational agencies, with eighteen Boston department stores and specialty shops, and with the National Retail Drygoods Association. Originally a training class for retail saleswomen (which still continues), the school soon devoted its main efforts to providing a year's course of training for educated women to fit them for positions as "educational directors" in department stores, teaching the principles and practice of retail selling to the force behind the counters, or as teachers of retail salesmanship in public school vocational classes. The preparation of these teachers has from the first involved frequent observation and actual "shop practice" as saleswomen in certain coöperating department stores in Boston. It has been, in fact, a conspicuous demonstration of the practicability of coöperation between a professional school and commercial establishments, and the first undertaking of the sort organized exclusively for women. The Prince School is now enlarging the scope of its work to include the training of "other executives in charge of personnel work in stores." Over a hundred of its graduates are educational directors in department stores throughout the country, teachers of salesmanship in public school systems, ex-

[1] See Helen R. Norton. *Department Store Education.* Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Education, No. 9 (1917). *A Text-Book on Retail Selling* (1919). Lucinda W. Prince. *Retail Selling.* Bulletin No. 22. Federal Board for Vocational Education (1918). *Positions of Responsibility in Department Store Organizations.* Bulletin No. 5. Bureau of Vocational Information (1921). Beulah E. Kennard. *The Educational Director* (1918).

perts in government service, managers in commercial and industrial establishments.

A more recent undertaking is the Research Bureau for Retail Training of the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, established in 1918 "to increase the professional spirit in retailing." This Bureau is part of the Division of Applied Psychology, which also includes the Bureau of Salesmanship Research, established in 1916 and devoted to the problems of wholesale or "outside" selling. The Bureau of Retail Research is backed by seven Pittsburgh department stores, and works in coöperation with them and with the public school system. It not only trains professional workers for the employment and training departments of retail stores and teachers of salesmanship for the public schools, but also carries on research in the problems of retail selling. It enrolls a limited number of picked men and women, and is on a graduate basis. In 1919-1920 it offered eight fellowships of $500. In 1919 New York University also opened a Training School for Teachers of Retail Selling with a two-year course on a graduate basis and with the coöperation of twenty department stores in New York City.

Another organization in the retail field is the Retail Research Association formed in 1917 by eighteen department stores throughout the country, to which have lately been added Harrod's in London and the Galérie Lafayette in Paris. It maintains offices in both these cities and a central office in New York, which comprises a merchandise division operating a coöperative merchandising or buying corporation and an organization division including a planning department and research and information services, at the disposal of the member stores. It makes the experience of each available to the others; conducts upon request special studies of individual stores or departments; studies general problems of organization and operation; and functions to some extent as an employment clearing-house and a training center.

The National Retail Drygoods Association is in cordial sympathy with these various efforts to develop professional training and standards in the drygoods field. Experiments

and progress are reported in the influential trade journal *Women's Wear*. Positions in department stores may be best secured through advertisement in this journal; through direct application to the employment departments of the various stores; or, in the case of exceptionally well qualified persons, through the Retail Research Association, which sometimes advertises for executive workers for its members in the New York daily papers.

The variety of responsible positions held by women in department stores is indicated by three employers' schedules returned by large stores in New England, the Middle West, and on the Pacific Coast. One says: "Almost every type of executive position in the store is or has been held by a woman. We have 172 men executives; 165 women executives. We have various training methods, including a special training group for quick development of potential executives. There are many executive positions with us where we consider women more efficient than men and vice versa. We have found that our women executives average practically as high as the men in permanency of employment. Among non-executives, we find that women are not as permanent as men, due mostly to their being in business for a livelihood until such time as they marry. . . . Undeniably a college woman is much more valuable as a result of her advanced education, but we have found that if an individual is of the right type, she will succeed, even with the handicap of lack of higher education. The war has undeniably given many women a chance to prove conclusively that they are capable of bigger things than have commonly been entrusted to them in the past. Women are undoubtedly in industry to stay."

Another says: "We have a woman assistant superintendent, assistants to other executives, an educational director, a welfare director, a service director, buyers, and assistants. We employ men and women in about the same numbers except in the five or six most important executive positions. We find that the efficiency varies with the individual, not the sex, except in the five or six most important positions, which are better filled by men. Both turnover and length of employment are approximately the same in both sexes.

Comparison between college and non-college women is difficult because of the small number of college women used. We think the percentage of success and failure about the same as among less educated women."

Another says: "We have a woman advertising manager, a woman welfare director, and a woman training director, as well as women buyers and assistant buyers, floor managers, employment, stock, and office workers. The relative efficiency of men and women varies with the nature of the work. Men are physically better for certain classes of work, women, in general, are more efficient in detail work. We find that college women usually lack the practical experience which the non-college women of their age have had."

Women in department stores filling our schedules include four educational directors in establishments in New England, Pennsylvania, and the Middle West; a buyer of coats and suits, a restaurant manager, a department head with a hundred people under her, in metropolitan eastern cities; and three recreation and welfare workers not connected with organized personnel departments. Returns from four women in department store personnel work have been given in Chapter XI. The educational directors' salaries ranged in 1918 from $1,560 to $2,500 with a median salary of $2,000; the buyer received $4,500, having begun in 1914 as a saleswoman at ten dollars a week; the restaurant manager received $3,120; the department head, $10,000; the recreation and welfare workers from $1,040 for a beginner just out of college to $2,400.[1] Of the educational directors, three are college graduates, and one is a normal school graduate with college courses. All have had previous teaching experience ranging from one year to twelve years. Three are graduates of the Boston School of Salesmanship, now the Prince School; one has had courses in salesmanship in two university schools of business administration. The buyer was educated in a well-known private school. The restaurant manager taught for nine years before going into her present

[1] For more recent salaries, see *Positions of Responsibility in Department Store Organizations.* Bulletin No. 5. Bureau of Vocational Information (1921).

occupation. The department manager is a college graduate, who reached her present position through service as advertising writer and foreign buyer for the firm. She is one of the most successful women executives in the mercantile world. Of the three welfare workers, one is counselor of an employees' association, and is a married woman with considerable experience in social and recreation work with young people. She visits sick employees, organizes social activities, and does general welfare work throughout the store. The other two are young college graduates. One of them at the age of twenty-four has the title of "store matron." The other has charge of clubs for employees, dramatics, gymnastics, and dancing. She has done some social case work and has also been an actress. These young women are in the department of training, which is in charge of a man. They are responsible to the management and not at all to the employees.

Some of the comments are as follows: "I consider the policies and organization of my employer the most striking example that I know of industrial democracy."

"Make yourself efficient, and no employer can long go without recognizing your ability. This is shown time and time again in store work."

"Preserve a humble attitude at first, as the number of unthinkable things one may do wrong in a department store is very large. The red tape is terrible."

"To do practical store work, gain the point of view of the salesperson."

"Common sense, imagination, and a psychological study of the buying public are the keynotes. As a buyer, dress well, be neat, have a sense of humor, fall back on plain common sense when in doubt, mind your own business, and never be tired."

Closely allied to the department store but with distinctive organization and problems are the great mail-order houses; and in them, too, are openings for professional women, either already existing or to be won through intelligence and determination. The growing number of chain-store sys-

tems affords another opportunity. Both these types of distribution provide excellent business training for socially-minded women who wish to prepare themselves for positions as managers, buyers, or other executives in true co-operative societies.

Mail-order houses and chain-store systems also form a connecting link between "inside" and "outside" selling. Wholesale salesmanship and salesmanagement is a field into which few professional women have ventured, but which lies just before them. A study of the "Help Wanted" columns of any metropolitan daily shows that "saleswomen" means women behind the counter; "salesmen" means in the large majority of cases men "on the road." A well-known firm engaged in the manufacture and distribution of watches is at present trying out a group of young college women as salesmanagers in experimental territory. They do not have any women regularly on the road, but have sent some out for periods of from two weeks to two months to get sales experience for their experimental branch work. With salesmanship and salesmanagement calling for a high type of worker and with opportunities for professional training offered by the university schools of business and by such organizations as the Carnegie Institute Bureau of Salesmanship Research, they offer a practical challenge to the woman who likes to prove her capacity in new lines of work.[1]

Women in business for themselves are not considered in this volume, since individual cases vary so greatly. But women in growing numbers are successfully managing businesses of their own of many sorts. In addition to the requisite amount of capital, they need the same knowledge of business organization and administration, the same professional attitude toward its problems that are needed by the professional business woman on a salary.

[1] See Eleanor Gilbert. *The Ambitious Woman in Business* (1916), Chapter 14.

CHAPTER XIV

COMMERCIAL SERVICES: BANKING, INSURANCE, PUBLIC UTILITIES, REAL ESTATE

BANKING, insurance, public utilities, and real estate are specialized commercial services devised to facilitate the exchange, accumulation, and protection of property and the extension of credit. They are all concerned primarily with matters of finance and with the selling of special types of service. Although they are still for the most part under private corporation management, their public character and importance are indicated by the growing body of legislation for their control; and the first two, as well as the third, might well be called "public utilities." This is as yet far less true of real estate, perhaps because land and buildings are thought of as tangible commodities, to be bought and sold individually like other commodities, and not as forms of common service. But since the war, there are signs that the public utility idea is extending to housing and to natural resources; and real property plays a large part in the transactions of the other three services. Many savings banks and investment companies deal largely in mortgages.

Banking, in which we are including the selling of bonds and other investment securities and also stock-broking, is a practically new occupation for women workers other than clerical. It has attracted of late somewhat more attention than it merits, since its opportunities for professional women to advance beyond a limited point are still problematical. But during the war many women replaced men in banks, and other women achieved success in selling "Liberty Bonds," so that bank officials have become aware of women as a labor supply, and are even encouraging them along certain lines. Before the war, one or two of the great metropolitan banks had begun to approach the women's colleges for a

small group of picked apprentices in the same way, although not to the same extent, that they were approaching the men's colleges. Since the war, they are employing young women just out of college in considerably larger numbers. Some of them are giving women definite training, and are "routing them through" the departments in order to initiate them into banking organization and processes. But there is a tendency to differentiate their training from that of young men of the same educational groups through giving them courses in stenography and typewriting. They are still looked upon largely as a supplementary labor supply to be prepared for the more recently developed and adjunct services in modern banking—librarianship, filing, personnel or "service" work, editorial work, statistical and other "research" work—rather than as part of the general supply of potential executive material. There is still a widespread feeling that they cannot deal directly with customers, although a number of exceptions have been made of late.

The position of professional women in banking has, however, reached the stage where it is likely to develop rapidly, and where the nature of that development will depend largely upon the attitude of women themselves. They need to realize clearly that modern banking is a highly technical profession, still preponderatingly a man's occupation; to understand the possible lines of promotion and to expect it when, but only when, they have fully demonstrated capacity. They need to cultivate a professional group spirit and to formulate professional standards and policies. For the present, they would probably do well to form associations or clubs of women professional bank workers as well as to join men's banking organizations to which they are eligible.

The past few years have seen a remarkable development of the scope and methods of banking in the United States. The Federal Reserve system, which did not become operative until late in 1914, provides for the first time a country-wide banking system through its twelve regional banks, with both large and small member banks sharing in management. It ties the two hundred and thirty-three clearing-houses into something like a national clearance system;

both facilitates and stabilizes credits; and furnishes a financial machinery comparable to that of foreign countries, through which may be carried on our greatly extended share in international finance and international trade. The adoption of "trade acceptances" also fosters commercial dealings with other countries. The new generation of professional workers in banking will be required to have an active knowledge of world trade resources, world banking systems and practices, and modern banking methods, that were unknown except to a few far-sighted leaders before the war. A profession long held to be conspicuously conservative is becoming almost a profession in the making.

A lecturer to classes of bank workers conducted by the American Institute of Banking says: "Every young man who goes into a bank . . . should make up his mind very early that the work is not easy and the only way he may succeed is to begin a systematic study of banking as a science. . . . Banking is a profession based upon scientific data. The physician cannot hope to learn medicine through experience and experiment upon his own body. . . . Many bankers, and especially the younger and inexperienced, deceive themselves with the idea that they can learn all they need to know by close application to their own immediate desks, counters, and communities. Just as the science of surgery and medicine is based upon the natural laws of the human body, so the science of banking grows out of economic laws that are at the basis of all business activity. . . . 'A successful banker is composed of about one-fifth accountant, two-fifths lawyer, three-fifths political economist, and four-fifths gentleman and scholar—total ten-fifths—double-size. Any smaller person may be a pawnbroker or a promoter, but not a banker.' " [1]

A high official of the National City Bank of New York said in an address to Yale seniors on the topic of foreign banking: "If you have decided to go into the banking field, then, no matter what bank you may start in or what position you may hold, plan your reading and your studies along lines that will make you a broader American. Study commodity banking and foreign exchange. Go to the bottom

[1] C. H. Wolfe. *Elementary Banking* (1915).

of every foreign transaction that comes under your notice, and, of most importance, keep eternally at foreign languages. A speaking knowledge of commercial Spanish French, and Russian will prove of greatest value to you in after life. If you have the language equipment and the practical knowledge of banking obtained even in a country bank, it will not be long before you will find your opportunity. And right here, let me say that there is no better training school for foreign banking than the all-round experience which a man can obtain in a country bank." [1]

The National City Bank has for some years provided definite courses training young college men as managers of branch banks in foreign countries; but has not yet extended these opportunities to college women. The financial institutions in this country in which women may be employed group themselves as commercial or general banks, national and state; savings banks; trust companies; so-called private banks, which commonly do an investment business in bonds and staple stocks; and brokerage firms, buying and selling stocks and bonds on commission for customers. The District Federal Reserve Banks and the District Federal Land Banks, which make long-term loans to farmers, are government institutions. Credit unions, or people's coöperative banks, are authorized by law in several states, and are growing in number. Building and loan associations are, in effect, coöperative banking institutions.

The stock in trade of banks is surplus money, or capital, of which they are the depositaries, and which they lend at a fixed rate, part of which goes to depositors in the form of interest, part to stockholders, and part as a charge for service. Commercial banks deal only in what is called circulating or fluid capital, rented out as it were, for a brief period in the form of short-term loans. Savings banks and trust companies deal in certain kinds of fixed or investment capital, mortgages, bonds, and other amply secured and long-term loans. Banks are not allowed to invest depositors' money in stocks, since these are purchased shares in a business, the returns from which fluctuate according to

[1] W. S. Kies. *Opportunities for Young Men in the Foreign Field* (Pamphlet, 1916).

earnings. But banks frequently give advice to customers about their private investments in bonds and stocks. Some of them maintain closely related investment companies, such as the National City Company of the National City Bank. Some investment houses deal only in bonds, and are known as bond houses. Brokerage houses buy and sell stocks for customers on the stock exchange, and are thus connected with the speculative market as well as with the investment market. Before the war, Americans preferred to invest in stocks in spite of their greater risk, since they yield a higher rate of interest. But the various government war loans have accustomed them to the idea of investing in government and other bonds. With world-wide reconstruction and development, there is likely to be even greater expansion in the buying and selling of the bonds of governments, cities, public utility corporations, and the like.

The groups of workers essential to the conduct of a bank are (1) the administrative officers, chosen by the directors and responsible for the policies and general financial decisions of the bank—president, vice-president, and cashier; (2) the tellers who actually receive and pay out the depositors' money; (3) the bookkeeping and clerical staff who attend to the recording and balancing of all financial transactions. In large institutions, these groups become major divisions with many departments. In the executive division will be such departments as loans, investments, credits, auditing, statistics, foreign exchange; in the tellers' division, the paying tellers', the receiving tellers', the note tellers', the collection, and the transit departments; in the bookkeeping division, the statement or ledger department, the proof, filing, and stenographic departments. Large modern banks are maintaining research and information departments for their own staffs and for their customers, in which are to be found bank librarians, financial experts of many kinds, editors, and statisticians. Where many loans are made, the credit experts who investigate the borrower's financial standing and the character of his securities are of the highest importance. Where the bank's funds are invested largely in bonds, the bond expert appears, calling in the services of engineers, lawyers, and others. The bond de-

partment of a great Chicago bank advertises: "In making the analysis of a recent proposition for a bond issue, we employed two lawyers, one accountant, two engineers, an expert in municipal government, a tax expert, an industrial organizer, in addition to our experts in credit and banking." Where there is a foreign department, there are experts in foreign trade and foreign securities. There are also experts in "floating" loans, domestic and foreign. Where there are hundreds of workers, the personnel or "service" department may be thoroughly organized; and there may be a definite education or training in service department, with a special instructional staff.

An intensive study of *Women in Banking in the City of Minneapolis* was made between July and October, 1918, by the Woman's Occupational Bureau of that city. Before the war, about ninety per cent of the bank workers in Minneapolis were men; and the ten per cent of women were nearly all routine workers. "Probably not more than twenty women in April, 1917, held positions of responsibility, such as private secretaries, managers or assistant managers of departments, and tellers. Fifteen months later, we find that over forty per cent of the employees are women, more than eighty of whom are employed as private secretaries, tellers, managers and assistant managers, . . . an increase of more than three hundred per cent in vocational opportunity for women." Women taken hurriedly into banks in the war emergency naturally did not do work equal to that of men who had received training in lower bank positions, and for the most part they received lower salaries. Moreover, the loss of experienced men clerks led to a great increase in the use of adding and bookkeeping machines. But the report is optimistic about the professional future for women in Minneapolis banks. "The banks are retaining women as part of their permanent working force, . . . and they are recognized as a source of supply for promotion to positions of responsibility and salary. . . . Women have proved their value as bank employees, and the normal expansion of business is absorbing a larger number of employees. . . . Tellers, managers and assistant managers of departments represent so far the

ultimate vocational opportunity of women in banks. . . . A college graduate of twenty-four who on August first was sorting mail . . . in October had been promoted to a position as teller. . . . In her former position she had learned the kind of work done in every department of the bank, the forms for listing various kinds of accounts, the listing, proving, and checking of items and the handling of checks and drafts—all excellent training for the work of teller. . . . Aside from the training through work connected with a specific job, woman employees of the large banks participate in the training courses offered under the auspices of the American Institute of Banking."

Before the war, professional women were beginning to be employed in New York banks as file supervisors, librarians, statisticians, employment or service managers for women employees, and to a small extent as managers of departments for women customers and as bond salesmen. At first, women coming into contact with possible customers were chosen largely because of attractive personality and wide social acquaintance, rather than because of any special training in banking. To-day, they are being increasingly selected from women of professional equipment and proved capacity. Within a year three New York City trust companies—one of them perhaps the largest in the world—have elected women assistant secretaries, corresponding to assistant cashier in a commercial bank. One of these, a college woman, had been for two years among the most successful bond salesmen of the institution, and before that had been connected for several years with a great public utility corporation. Another woman is assistant secretary-treasurer of a trust company in an adjacent town. A woman is manager of a southern clearing house. The employment of women trained in home economics as budget advisers in banks is described in Chapter VII.

Bond houses, similar departments of the great banks, and general investment houses buy whole issues or large blocks of bonds and guaranteed stocks, and retail them to investors. The National City Company says: "One of our functions is mercantile, and consists of distribution—getting investment securities from the interests issuing them

to the banks, firms, or private investors who wish to buy them. Our other function is professional, and consists of appraising an investor's own special needs, and advising what securities will best meet his requirements with combined reference to maximum yield and safety. . . . The National City Company, like the great factories . . . manufactures a commodity for national distribution. This commodity is a complete service for you as an investor—and this requires a large army of officers and producers and large areas of floor-space." [1]

The two main departments of an investment house are the buying department, which includes both actual trading in the great investment markets and research; and the office, and field selling departments. All issues of bonds or stocks are carefully investigated before purchasing. A college woman connected with a New York investment house writes thus of the buying department: "Picture to yourself a group of scholarly pessimists, unwilling to believe anything without documentary proof and trusting few besides themselves to compile the documents, always analyzing, always making allowance for a dark future, and you have the buying department. Very expert and very few in number the buyers are. Women with engineering training and those who have shown originality in research in chemistry, geology, economics, or law might fitly apply for work in this department." [2] As yet, few women have been employed in this side of investment work; but there seems a chance here for the group with a war-derived knowledge of domestic and foreign trade, for the new oil and gas geologists (see p. 337), and for women with legal training.[3] "The statistical department, information department, or library, as it is variously called, is another branch of the buying department. Here are kept not only books, but financial manuals, periodicals, reports of corporations, files of clippings, circulars of other houses, and whatever

[1] *Men and Bonds* (Pamphlet, 1920).

[2] Elizabeth F. Cook. *Opportunities for Women in Finance.* Journal of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. Volume XI (1917-1918).

[3] See *Women in the Law.* Bureau of Vocational Information Bulletin Three, pp. 73-82.

else the buying or sales department is likely to need for quick reference. Many houses use the statistical department as the training school for their promising young men. Women, too, will generally find it the best door by which to enter, as well as the least obstructed. The work is valuable as giving a comprehensive view of the business along with the best preparation for more specialized buying or selling work."[1] The National City Company says: "The research department . . . is a tireless 'lookout.' . . . Our public utility files alone contain more than 20,000 folders."

On the side of selling securities, a few bond houses, notably the William P. Bonright Company, began to employ women as bond salesmen before the war. Women made excellent records as salesmen in the various "Liberty" and "Victory" loan "drives," particularly in the hotel and shopping districts; and their position in this type of financial work seems assured. In New York they are attached to "up-town" branches of banks and investment houses, as well as doing outside selling, and are given the regular training of securities salesmen. The idea at first was that they should sell particularly to women customers; but some of them have been equally successful with men. In fact, many men are looking for an investment expert, whether man or woman; while some women still have less business confidence in a woman than in a man. In most cases, salesmen are provided with a drawing account up to a certain figure, and are then paid a commission on their sales. A few firms, however, think that better results are secured through paying a salary with some form of bonus or commission. The work requires the ability to approach and convince people, presence, dignity, objectivity, sagacity, and vigorous health. While some employers and some women think that "feminine charm" may be capitalized as a business asset, in the long run such an attitude probably loses more customers than it secures. Initial earnings in securities selling are small; but success or failure is quickly determined, and for a woman who succeeds, the income may be practically what she determines to make it. Bond and se-

[1] Elizabeth F. Cook. *Opportunities for Women in Finance.* Journal of A. C. A., Volume XI.

curities selling is a valuable training for more important positions. Few women other than clerical have been employed in brokerage firms; but in rare cases, women have shown exceptional ability as traders in the speculative market.

A good background for professional work in banks and other financial institutions is given through college courses in economics, banking and finance, and statistics. The university schools of commerce and business administration provide professional training through both regular and extension courses. New York University has a Wall Street Branch of its School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, designed for those employed in the financial district. A number of great banking institutions have their own education departments. Investment houses, such as the National City Company and the Henry L. Doherty Company, conduct bond and securities schools for salesmen, to which women have been admitted. The American Institute of Banking has about 23,000 students in its various chapters. In 1918-1919 women were admitted as associate members. The standard course is three years in length, and is open to men and women employed in banks. The New York City Chapter has about 4,000 students, of whom some 200 are women. One woman was graduated in 1920, completing the course in a little over two years. The National City Bank, which has worked out perhaps the most comprehensive scheme of training in service for men says: "An extra effort was made to get college women—women of broad preliminary training and possessing great possibilities for success in positions of responsibility. These college graduates were immediately put to work learning typewriting and stenography. They also studied the correspondence files of the department to which they were to be sent. In a comparatively short time they were given an outline for simple letters which they were to write. When a letter came from a correspondent or a customer with reference to his account, the entire folder of that correspondence was turned over to one of these girls. She digested the contents and wrote the reply. By selecting girls of real ability and splendid training, and entrusting to them real re-

sponsibilities (stenography and typewriting was merely a stepping stone), the bank is developing women who are not only expert letter writers, but who are learning to assume many responsibilities heretofore carried by officers."

Women looking forward to professional work in banks are urged to meditate upon this last quotation. In general, they need a liking for figures and for financial relations and problems; an ability to handle impersonal details without being swamped by them; and above all an interest and belief in the modern financial system. Otherwise they may find themselves caught in a great machine with the operations of which they have no fundamental sympathy.

Employment is likely to be secured through direct application to the employment or personnel departments of financial institutions; by replying to the not infrequent advertisements of these organizations; through the higher grade business employment agencies, such as the National Employment Exchange in New York and the Business Men's Clearing House in Chicago; through higher institutions; and through the bureaus of occupations for trained women.

Two large New York banks and five women in banking positions filled our schedules. One bank has two women department heads, two managers, fourteen secretaries, twelve stenographers, and a hundred and forty-four clerks. The other gives no figures, but reports women in executive, managerial, secretarial, stenographic, and typing positions. The first employs men and women in a fifty-fifty ratio in secretarial work; in a five to one ratio in clerical work. Promotion is based upon efficiency reports. "The women have proved equally faithful and more conscientious and painstaking than the men. They are paid the same salaries in everything but executive work. The comparatively few college women that we have employed have done conspicuously good work."

Of the five women reporting, one is assistant secretary of a metropolitan trust company, promoted from the post of manager of the women's department; one is assistant to the secretary of a regional branch of the Federal Land Bank; one is librarian and file clerk in a large New York

firm of private bankers; one is financial statistician in an investment house; and one is custodian of the safe-deposit vault of a country town bank. One is a college graduate and a graduate of one of the best law schools; the others are without college education, but express their regret at its lack. Salaries range from $900 to $2,700 with a median salary of $2,100.

The Land Bank assistant says: "I dictate mail, open and distribute all mail, supervise clerks, supervise all applications for loans, check amount of all loans approved, etc. . . . My employer prefers women clerks, says he gets more work with less friction and less talking. . . . Be prompt. Be accurate. Don't 'guess you are right.' Take the time and trouble to be sure you are. . . . I suppose by great effort a woman could become one of the officers." She reports no differences in the pay of men and women in clerical positions.

The librarian and file clerk was previously head stenographer for the firm, and has held her present position for eight years, securing it after two years of service. She says: "A big filing position usually comes because you know the special business, and have common sense and a wide general knowledge. Do all work particularly dependably; keep an open mind; keep educating yourself; have an interest in your work; and don't be afraid of hard work and responsibility. I have taken special filing courses at Columbia University, and keep abreast with filing methods. . . . Bankers give men many more opportunities than they do women, but I have always been paid on an equal footing for what I did."

The assistant secretary of a trust company says: "I am an executive officer of the company with the same rights and duties as the other assistant secretaries, who are all men. I never worked until I went to the trust company three years ago. In that time my salary has more than doubled."

The custodian says: "I have entire charge of the safe-deposit vaults, and do some stenography and clerical work. I have worked at the teller's window, and have run the general ledger and the bookkeeper's ledger. My advice to

other women in banking is to be able to mind one's own business and to remember that we are servants of the Public."

Reports of the occupations of members of the classes of 1917 and 1918 were furnished us during the summer of 1919 by Barnard, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, and Vassar Colleges. Nineteen graduates of 1917 were reported as employed by banks or other financial institutions; thirty-three graduates of 1918. Of fourteen graduates of one college, six were in clerical positions; one investigated customers for the central files; one was assistant collection teller in a southwestern bank, two were bond salesmen for a large New England banking and investment firm; one was in the reference library of a New York trust company; another was research assistant in the foreign trade bureau of the same institution, where she "helped American exporters to plan their foreign trade campaigns." One was in charge of the government bond work in a shipbuilding company. Another was director of a vacation savings club for working girls under the auspices of a middle-western trust and savings bank. Young college graduates are looking upon banking as the latest occupational adventure.

Insurance is fundamentally the selling of financial protection and provision for the future in return for periodic payments or "premiums" made by or in the name of the insured person or persons. To those buying insurance, it represents a form of thrift or saving, an investment at a low rate of interest, and a guaranty against sudden financial loss—by fire, accident, sickness, or death. An insurance company is in one sense a great trust company, caring for the funds of all its policy holders and investing them safely. It is also a great loan agency, making loans to its policy holders on the basis of premiums paid. The organization of an insurance company is "much the same as that of any other corporation which has to do with the collecting, investing, and disbursing forms of money." But because its customers are many and widely scattered, and

because its benefits are not immediate but future, and payments are likely to lapse, the insurance company has to seek business far more than does the bank or investment house and to maintain a far larger force of outside salesmen or insurance agents as they are called. Moreover, to do business with justice and profit to both parties to the insurance contract, it must make elaborate calculations of the probabilities of various events—deaths at various ages and in various occupations; sickness, injury, fires, wrecks, accidents and damages of all sorts. This is the actuarial side of insurance; the actuary is the mathematical expert in the insurance field. Closely allied is the insurance statistician, who compiles "mortality," "morbidity," and other statistics. The modern life insurance medical department is fast becoming a public health department as well, employing not only medical examiners of insurance "risks" but health experts who fight for the reduction of disease and the prolongation of life. In the same way in property insurance, there is a constant effort to improve construction and to supply efficient inspection. As a great financial institution with the character of its investments and operations regulated by law, the insurance company likewise employs many financial and legal experts, efficiency engineers, and so on. In many cases employing hundreds of people in its "home office" and other hundreds in the field, it requires department, office, and "sales" managers. It is organizing personnel services of various kinds—employment, education, restaurant, club, and recreation facilities, buying and savings arrangements. The character of insurance work also requires advertising, information, and research departments.

The best known and oldest forms of insurance are life, fire, and marine insurance. But there are now practically no risks to life or property against which insurance is not procurable or contemplated. The idea of social insurance is becoming familiar in this country; and many people believe that every citizen should have the protection of insurance, and that inequalities of hazard should be met at least partly by the state. Workmen's compensation laws have been passed within the past decade by some twenty-six

states. The War-Risk Insurance system for soldiers and sailors has brought the federal government into the insurance business on a large scale. Legislation for health insurance is being widely advocated. Old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, and maternity insurance, backed by the state, are still considered radical in the United States, but have a growing body of supporters. "Fraternal" or mutual benefit insurance societies have long existed. Nowadays many firms are taking out "group insurance" for their employees.

Not so long ago the term "insurance-agent" was used almost as contemptuously as "book-agent" or "canvasser." The old practice of paying commissions to any local person who wrote a little insurance as a side issue encouraged a class of persons to enter the business "who considered the interests neither of the company nor of the policy-holder, and very grave evils developed. The old type of agent . . . was simply . . . a solicitor." [1] But the modern insurance company organizes, trains, and supervises its selling force according to the principles and methods used in the selling of other essential commodities and services; so that insurance salesmanship is becoming more and more an occupation of professional standing, with a definite profession technique and spirit and a definite group of professional problems calling for investigation. Companies vary in the organization of their agents. Some direct and supervise them entirely from the home office. Some appoint a general agent on a commission basis for a certain territory, responsible for results but with large control of the agents under him. Some have branch offices throughout the country in charge of salaried managers but with central administration and supervision. Insurance agents have in the past been paid almost exclusively on a commission basis, but as with bond salesmen, there is a tendency nowadays toward a combination of salary and commission.

Many companies now have a women's department in both home and branch offices, in charge of women and with a corps of women agents organized to sell to women. Women agents, however, like women bond salesmen, are

[1] Warren M. Horner. *Training of a Life Insurance Agent.*

successfully writing insurance for both men and women; and the time may not be far distant when separate "women's departments" will become obsolete.

Apart from selling insurance as agents, women may enter the insurance field through the various "home" or "branch" office departments—actuarial, medical, legal, financial, personnel, research, publicity. The work of an insurance actuary is perhaps the most difficult and technical expert work to be found in the commercial world, and requires prolonged training and special mathematical aptitude. To become an actuary in the full sense of the term involves membership in one of the actuarial societies, such as the Actuarial Society of America or the American Institute of Actuaries, which are entered through passing a series of difficult examinations. Some insurance companies are willing to take a small number of picked young college women into their actuarial departments for training, but such opportunities are limited. The growth of insurance companies, industrial insurance, and pension systems has increased the demand for actuaries; but they are relatively few in number. The 1910 census gives 286 men and 10 women in the profession.

Women doctors are to some extent medical examiners for women applicants for insurance, usually combining this work with other forms of practice. Some companies, notably the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which does an enormous business in insuring industrial wage earners and others of small income, have gone into extensive preventive public health work. For some years this company has had an arrangement with visiting nurse associations by means of which its policy-holders receive nursing care. It issues a large number of pamphlets on matters of health and living to its policy-holders. For several years it has been coöperating with the National Tuberculosis Association in making an intensive health study and demonstration in Framingham, Massachusetts, of which a series of reports have been recently issued. That public health work on the part of life insurance companies is not purely philanthropic by no means lessens its value; and it offers a field of professional and social interest to qualified women

and providing a unique opportunity to check up results

The complicated field of insurance law offers an opportunity to women lawyers who prefer salaried office positions to independent practice.[1] Insurance companies are also employing women statisticians, expert accountants, auditors, adjusters, advertising and editorial workers, and workers in various personnel services. But on the whole, they have not turned to college women as a source of professional labor supply to the extent of banks and public utility companies. Individually, however, college women are going into insurance in considerable numbers; and the companies are becoming aware of them and their possibilities.

Professional schools of commerce and business administration offer courses on various types of insurance; and the larger and more progressive companies conduct training courses for agents, and hold periodic conferences. They are beginning to coöperate with higher institutions in intensive courses for selected workers in their service. Such a course was carried on in 1919-1920 at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. Associations of insurance workers are for the most part open to both men and women; and insurance women have formed associations of their own only when, as in Massachusetts, the men's associations do not admit them; or for some special purpose, as in New York, in order to join the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Employment is as yet probably best secured through direct application.

Our schedules give returns from two insurance companies, a life and an accident and indemnity company; and from eight women in the insurance field. One firm employs fifty-seven women in the home office, of whom three occupy higher clerical positions of responsibility in the renewal, loan, and group insurance departments respectively. Eight are stenographers, and the rest routine clerks and typists. The other employs no women except in routine clerical positions. It says: "We prefer men, for reasons too general for analysis. They are markedly more persistent than the average woman. . . . The war has greatly enlarged

[1] See *Women in the Law.* Bureau of Vocational Information. Bulletin Three, pp. 73-81.

the scope, opportunity, and possibilities of women in business, and the demand will increase. . . . It is to be regretted that with the present demand . . . more women do not seem to understand or care to appreciate their responsible connection with the business undertaken by them. They need to develop a much more serious intent."

Of the eight women, three are managers of women's departments in branch offices of large life insurance companies; one is assistant secretary of a western farmers' coöperative insurance association; one is an independent insurance and real estate broker; another is connected with a similar agency; two are private secretaries to insurance executives. Three are college graduates; one is a normal school graduate. The three salaries reported ranged in 1919 from $1,200 to $1,800. The incomes from commissions or commissions and salary combined ranged from $3,800 to nearly $10,000. The managers secured employment as agents through direct application, and have reached their present positions through promotion. They supervise and instruct staffs of women agents, and help sell insurance, one of them to both men and women. Two are paid on a commission basis; one receives a salary and commissions.

A manager says: "For those trained in salesmanship, there is no limit to the amount they can earn. It is commission work, and depends absolutely upon individual effort and initiative. Our company has a thorough educational course and educational director; and one can graduate and receive a diploma. The company circularizes fifty names a week for each agent, and through the answers puts agents in direct touch with live prospects. It keeps in personal touch with every agent through its 'efficiency staff.'"

Another says: "Do not enter unless willing to work harder than in any other occupation. Health, backbone, and untiring energy are the first requisites."

The real estate and insurance broker says: "I sell real estate, look after and manage apartment houses and business buildings; and sell life, fire, automobile, burglary, accident, and all kinds of insurance. . . . I advise women going into this work to get a high-school or college education, to make plenty of friends, not a few, to get practical

business experience, and to study their particular subject so that they know it."

Of the graduates of 1917 and 1918 of Barnard, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, and Vassar, eighteen are reported as insurance workers of some sort. One young woman has recently taken a two months' course, given by one of the largest companies.

Public utilities include principally telephone and telegraph companies, light and power companies, and street and steam railways. For the most part they offer non-competitive service to a given community, and are under the regulation of special laws and in some states of public service boards or commissions. The Interstate Commerce Commission is a federal board. These services affect the daily convenience and comfort of the public, and they employ large numbers of people in direct contact with the public, so that the problems of securing, training, and supervising personnel are peculiarly important. For the same reasons and for the reason that their bonds and stocks are usually sound investments, they employ many advertising and publicity workers. As great service and financial corporations, they require executives and financial experts of many kinds. They likewise require many statisticians, computers, and efficiency engineers, and are in intimate relations with industries manufacturing their equipment and supplies, or maintain such industries themselves.

Our schedules give replies from a great telephone corporation and from several branches of a subsidiary company; also from the Women's Service Section of the United States Railroad Administration, now discontinued with the return of the roads to corporation management. Six women return schedules—two in telephone companies, three in railroads, one in a gas company.

The telephone corporation employs women in executive, technical, and higher clerical positions in its employment, instruction, technical, and development work. "For college women taking up instruction work in the traffic department there is a six months' course affording an opportunity for

learning the detail of the work necessary to perform intelligently the work required of those engaged in instruction or in the development of instruction courses and methods. . . . Practically all college women are doing work which gives abundant opportunity for initiative and the expression of their ideas. . . . The work itself is to a large extent being developed by them. . . . Generally speaking we do not employ men and women in comparable positions. During the war, however, we employed about fifteen college women for work which previously had been handled by men. . . . My impression is that college trained men are more stable in their employment. This is to be expected, as, generally speaking, women are more uncertain in their minds as to these newer lines of employment open to them, the relative advantages, etc. Furthermore, the lines of work themselves are not so fully established as those open to men. . . . From the economic standpoint, college women are more likely to be independent, and therefore are more able to take the risk that may be involved in a change. . . . This one conclusion stands out rather clearly: that in established lines of work non-college trained women with company experience are preferable. In new lines of work requiring research and a greater degree of imagination and initiative, the college trained women excel. . . . Our experience has been that women who have received their training at coeducational institutions have done better in our work than those trained at other colleges. This seems to be due to the fact that they are able to elect courses closely related to business which are not available at most of the other colleges. It would appear also that conducting the work in classes with men is advantageous if they later go into business. . . . Our opinion is that it is desirable for women to major in mathematics and economics and to take perhaps one of the exact sciences. It is especially advantageous to them to have training in exact thinking and reasoning. Economics gives a background which is valuable for any one going into business, and perhaps is especially desirable for women in order that they may feel as much at home as possible. . . . It would be good advice to trained women going into business to

recognize that it is still substantially a pioneer movement, and that they can help themselves and those who will follow them by persisting in the fields which they enter, having patience to develop them in a satisfactory manner. . . . I have noted a certain roving tendency among a number of college-trained women."

The manager of the Women's Service Section of the U. S. Railway Administration, which was established in the summer of 1918 to look after the interests of women employed by railway companies, reports that her office employed four field agents, one statistician, and two stenographers, practically all college women. With regard to the relative efficiency of men and women doing similar work, she says: "It depends on proper training and selection. Women are as efficient as men after gaining the same experience. But objection is often made that women are absent more frequently, are less punctual, and have less ambition than men. There is, unfortunately, some truth in this criticism. Women need training in exactness, careful observation, and proper impersonal point of view. Women on the whole take criticism of their work too personally." This emphasis upon the need of impersonality recurs frequently.

Salaries reported in public utilities work ranged in 1918 and 1919 from $1,440 to $5,000 with a median salary of $2,184. A college woman who is head instructor in the traffic department of a great telephone corporation, who has been a teacher and done graduate work in two universities, and who majored in college in mathematics and chemistry, says: "I do administrative work, arranging schedules, classes, instructors' hours and duties; and have general oversight of the instructional work. . . . I came into this work with the knowledge that one college-trained woman had made a great success, and that others like her were needed. The size and reputation of the company were sufficient guarantee of advancement if one made good. I should like to have a better knowledge of English and history, and I should like to be able to use stenography and typewriting as tools. College men and women are employed and given a six months' course before they are assigned to

regular positions. Women are employed as operators, chief operators, and instructors. They report to men, who hold all the higher positions."

A toll-traffic chief in a southwestern branch of the same company says: "I instruct, make studies of operating loads, position loads, and circuit loads; and supervise the work of the department."

A field agent for the Women's Service Section of the Railway Administration is a university woman with a year's graduate work in social research. She has been a teacher and a supervisor of evening schools for immigrants. She says: "I make investigations into the nature of the work of women railway employees, their rates of pay, etc., and write reports of the same. The men agents in this work are empowered to make adjustments; our work is purely an inspection and investigation service. In work of this sort, be sure of your ability to meet people of all kinds, to put up with the hardships of almost constant travel, to write clearly and concisely of your impressions and investigations. Keep in touch with the leading social, political, and industrial movements of the times."

A woman of twenty-eight years of age reports that she has recently been promoted to the position of car distributor on a southwestern railroad. She is a high school graduate with some college courses, and has been a bookkeeper, statistician, and trainmaster's clerk. She says: "I fill orders for all classes of equipment for an entire division. If women can do the work, they have the same opportunity as men. The important thing is to use common, everyday reason and to be able to master any situation."

While this is probably an isolated case, it shows that executive positions in railroad transportation are not a closed field to women of ability and ambition. A woman is director of women employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The New York Central Railroad is employing some young college women as draftsmen.

The four women's colleges mentioned above show twelve graduates of 1917 and 1918 employed by public utilities companies in such capacities as computers, engineering assistants, draftsmen, and assistant auditors.

Like insurance, the real estate business has an unprofessional past, and it has not so largely lived it down. In many respects it is still a highly competitive and even speculative occupation. But the growth of large real estate organizations; the establishment of real estate boards and exchanges with regulations followed by reputable firms; the fact that buying, selling, or renting real property are complicated matters in which the individual needs the services of experts to supply information and to render legal, financial, or other assistance—all tend to raise it to a professional level, and to develop among its leaders the group spirit, the continuing study of problems and techniques, and the regard for public interest which a profession demands. The essentially public character of buildings and their relations to public welfare are recognized at least negatively by building codes and the inspections based upon them. Moreover, the housing shortage of all kinds due to the reduction in building during the war and the war-time experience in great military and industrial housing projects have focused attention upon the building and real estate expansion which is already upon us, and render it probable that it will be carried on with a greater regard than heretofore for sound city development and the interests of all groups in the population. There has never been so hopeful an opportunity for coöperation between those dealing with real estate as a business or profession and those concerned with housing and city and town planning from a social and civic point of view. The housing movement is described in Chapter VIII.

Real estate is a form of brokerage with the real estate dealer or firm charging a commission for services. Where the company itself owns houses and land which it puts up for sale or rent, it is a form of merchandising. There is a definite "real estate market." Many real estate firms specialize in one kind of property, such as office buildings, apartment houses, factory sites, suburban residences, farm lands. Others specialize in some one neighborhood. Others do a general real estate business. Large firms have renting, sales, mortgage and loan, legal, and other departments. Real estate transactions involve many legal and financial

matters connected with deeds, mortgages, loans, taxation, insurance. Companies or estates owning apartment houses, tenement houses, private houses, office buildings, employ renting agents and rent collectors. They have many dealings with architects and engineers.

It has been said that real estate requires a smaller amount of initial capital than any other comparable business. This is perhaps one reason why a good many women have gone into it in a modest way for themselves, and have sometimes built up considerable businesses, usually in residential suburban property or in city apartments and houses. A number of women are apartment house agents; a few are apartment house superintendents or managers. A large firm in New York concerned with the building of model tenements and workingmen's houses employs women purchasing agents, rent collectors, and resident superintendents. A woman has been in charge of the tenement properties of the Trinity Corporation. The Octavia Hill Association in Philadelphia has for years had women rent collectors and other workers. New York City has women tenement-house and fire-prevention inspectors.

Outside of philanthropic or semi-philanthropic enterprises, there have been few college or professional women in the real estate field. Some women have been left property to manage; others have begun as clerks or stenographers in real estate offices; others have found chance openings. In 1914 a study of opportunities for women in the real estate business in Boston and its suburbs was made by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union.[1] It found that local real estate firms were not willing to employ women except as stenographers, and that to gain practical experience in an office, a woman was obliged to use stenography as an "entering wedge." While there were a number of college men in the real estate business, no college women were found. Twenty-two women real estate brokers were interviewed, practically all in the field. It is probable that access to real estate offices in Boston is now less restricted.

As yet, real estate workers have not formulated any re-

[1] *Opportunities for Women in the Business of Real Estate.* Vocations for the Trained Woman. Part 2 (1914).

quirements for professional training, although a recent convention discussed the professional character of the occupation, and urged some form of public registration for its practitioners. Schools of business administration devote some attention to this field; and the Young Men's Christian Association has offered courses for young men interested in becoming real estate agents, rent collectors, and so on. Training in law, finance, advertising, engineering, architecture, salesmanship, and psychology are all valuable.

Only three women in real estate returned our schedules: the real estate and insurance broker already described; a woman in the managing department of a New York realty company; and a woman conducting a general real estate business of her own in a small western city. The manager is a married woman, a college graduate with two years of work in a law school, who entered the business because it was a family affair. She says: "I am a member of the firm, and act as agent or manager. I do renting, managing apartment houses, engaging help, ordering supplies, contracting for work to be done. Positions are secured through applying at real estate offices, advertising, and so on."

CHAPTER XV

INFORMATION SERVICES: JOURNALISM, PUBLISHING, ADVERTISING, PUBLICITY

THE information services dealt with in this chapter, though distinct, have many principles, methods, and attitudes of mind in common; and workers pass easily from one to the other. All of them are, in a sense, forms of merchandising commodities known as news, information, literature, through the media of print and the graphic and visual arts, including in these days the motion-picture. Their common purpose is communication; to produce changes in thoughts and feelings and consequently in conduct. The psychological principles involved are broadly those of salesmanship, although the powerful stimulations of bodily presence and voice are lacking. On the other hand, the range of appeal is infinitely greater, and there is a greater emphasis upon the effects of repetition, suggestion, and "marginal attention." On the mechanical side, all of them, directly or indirectly, produce manufactured articles—newspapers, books, magazines, bill-boards, catalogues, posters, films. As industries, they employ skilled industrial workers and managers and experts of various kinds.

But the professional workers discussed here are concerned with the collection, organization, and transmission of facts and ideas. They perform a "public utility" service exceeding that rendered by railroad, telegraph and telephone, and power companies, and like them carry on a process of distribution essential to modern civilization. In a democracy, their professional obligations and professional opportunities are second only to those of teachers.

Although they market literature as they market stock reports, they are in no sense literary workers, and their occu-

pations have little to do with literature proper, the creative interpretation of some aspect of life through the vehicle of language. Young literary aspirants are frequently under a romantic misapprehension in this respect, to their subsequent disillusionment. A recent "vocational guidance" bulletin says: "Literary work is not a profession. 'Writing' is a by-product of living. . . . The life of a nurse, a doctor, a teacher—each of these has developed more successful writers than has, for instance, a desk in an editorial office. The college graduate who wishes to write is likely to confuse the business of publishing the writings of others with an apprenticeship in creative work." [1] A reporter, an editor, a publisher, a writer of advertisements, may also be a producer of literature; but the practice of his art lies outside of his professional activities. To write themselves may help editors and publishers to estimate the literary quality of writings submitted to them. But in general they are successful because they are shrewd and experienced judges of their particular publics and of the literary and other qualities that will appeal to them and move them in certain directions.

Journalism and publishing are closely related to advertising not only because all three make a public appeal through the printed word but also because the newspaper and the magazine are among the most important advertising media, and have their advertising departments as they have their editorial departments. Two recent books on journalism devote considerable space to the advertising side of the newspaper. [2] Advertising is highly profitable to a publication; most magazines could not be published without it. The charge is not infrequently made that the policy of a newspaper is controlled by its leading advertisers; and a paper of high standing must be above reproach in this matter. The financial power of the advertising department is one of the modern dangers to the freedom of the press, even where there is no taint of corruption. The book is not a

[1] Burges Johnson. *"Literary Work," Journalism, Advertising* (1919).

[2] James Melvin Lee. *Opportunities in the Newspaper Business* (1919). Don C. Seitz. *Training for the Newspaper Trade* (1916).

particularly good medium for advertising, except of other publications by the firm. But it is a product which itself needs advertising, so that book publishers, like other manufacturers, maintain departments for preparing and placing their advertising.

During the war a distinction arose between ordinary advertising and what has come to be known in a special sense as "publicity," concerned with the winning of public favor and support for specific organizations and causes—patriotic, philanthropic, educational, political. War-time examples are the appeals to the public of the Food Administration, the Treasury in its Liberty Loan campaigns, the Red Cross, and other "welfare" and relief organizations. After-war examples are the "drives" of the various colleges, the lavish activities of the Interchurch World Movement, the campaigns for the presidency, and the quieter and more continuous efforts of charity organization and other benevolent societies dependent upon public interest. Practically all organizations not maintained by public funds and many that are find it necessary to-day to have permanent publicity departments. In fact, two sorts of publicity have developed, each with its own techniques, the "drive" or "campaign" for a definite and limited period, with its "zones," "quotas," and "hundred per cent" memberships; and the less spectacular but not less skillful steady diffusion of information. There are unmistakable evidences of public weariness of the first method; and the day is fast approaching for a general investigation of the value and validity of current publicity methods, and a determination of what constitutes legitimate and what illegitimate publicity. There is a crying need for clear and fundamental ethical standards. The greatest danger inherent in modern publicity comes from the fact that much of it appears in the form of contributed articles, not in the form of paid advertisements; and easily degenerates into an insidious kind of propaganda. During the last few years the enormous sums of money spent to shape public opinion have done more than the rigors and stupidities of official censorships to weaken public confidence in the independence and accuracy of the press. The growing use of advertising space by political parties, labor

organizations, civic, philanthropic, and educational bodies, has much to commend it, since the source and terms of the appeals are clearly understood. Abuses of advertising have been, and may be, controlled by law. But "inspired articles" exploit the public, and breed an ultimate distrust of the cause advocated and of the press itself.

On the other hand, a democratic form of government and the complexities of modern industrial society require constant dissemination of information and the full presentation of various programs and points of view. Only thus can there be intelligent discussion and sound social progress. It has become only too easy to stigmatize the opinions of opponents as "propaganda" and to use the term only in a disparaging sense. There is a kind of publicity that is genuinely educational and necessary. It is based on a constant study of group psychology and a realization that people to-day suffer not so much from lack of knowledge as from a surplus of shifting and half-digested knowledge. It aims to select, organize, and present authentic information in such a fashion that its bearings upon individual conduct and public policy and welfare may become manifest. The ethical and social responsibilities of the press have long been recognized, if not always lived up to. It is coming to be seen that advertising and all forms of paid publicity must conform to similar standards.

Closely allied to publicity are the "information" and "research" departments maintained by an increasing number of industrial, commercial, and social organizations, or established as independent bureaus supplying service. The primary object of such departments is to collect and organize information needed by those conducting a business or other enterprise; to study its methods of production or distribution; to keep actual customers or patrons informed of progress. The primary object of a publicity or advertising department is to reach a public as yet uninformed, who may become purchasers, contributors, political supporters, followers of new ideas and methods. An important function of the federal government is to serve as a central agency for research, information, and publicity of an educational character. The Departments of Agriculture, Commerce,

and Labor, and the Bureau of Education are striking examples.

The two kinds of service are often rendered by the same organization, although the methods employed and the professional workers concerned are different. There is some danger at present that their respective objects may not be clearly recognized, and that so-called information and research services may exist to exploit the public in one way or another. Professional workers need to look carefully into the standing and backing of such services before becoming connected with them. "Research" has become a fashionable term in business. But many firms are recognizing that the authenticity and value of the facts which they set forth are a matter of social obligation as well as an important commercial asset.

Journalism is professional work connected with the issuing of daily or weekly papers reporting and commenting editorially upon the news of the day; publishing, the work connected with the issuing of magazines, periodicals, and books; advertising and publicity, the spreading of information for specific purposes.

In journalism, the workers are reporters, who collect news at the source; copy writers, who put material turned in into shape for publication; feature writers, who do work on special subjects or for special departments, such as the financial, sporting, or women's pages; and editors of various kinds, who direct policies, select material, and interpret the news in editorial articles. There are also space writers or free-lance journalists, who are not salaried workers on the staff of any one paper but sell their work at so much a column or so much a hundred words to various papers or to newspaper syndicates, especially for "feature" departments or for Sunday magazine sections.

The main types of newspaper are the metropolitan and large city daily paper, the small city daily, and the country or small town weekly. Like all periodicals they are required by law to state their owners and publishers. They represent all sorts of political, economic, and religious views; but

their chief object and obligation are to report the news as fully and fairly as possible. A metropolitan daily of the first class[1] has editorial, news, mechanical, and business departments, each in charge of a chief with a staff of editors, managers, or foremen, and with a swarm of subordinates, reporters, special writers, correspondents, solicitors, clerks, skilled workmen, as the department requires. The editorial staff usually includes the editor-in-chief, the managing editor, the city editor, who has charge of securing news from a radius of from twenty-five to seventy-five miles; the telegraph editor, the foreign editor, the night editor, and various assistants. The Sunday edition of the paper frequently has a separate staff, and combines many aspects of magazine publishing with journalism proper. In 1918, there were some 23,000 newspapers and periodicals published in the United States and its insular possessions; in 1914, there were 794 daily papers in large cities; 1,786 in small.

By far the largest number of journalists begin as reporters; and reporters are the most numerous class of journalistic workers. Upon them falls "the chief burden of the trade," and they must possess above all "a heaven-born quality called 'the nose for news.'" Says Mr. Seitz: "Under present-day workings, the writing side is the least of the newspaper's troubles. Re-write men and trained copy readers shape up the stuff. The problem is to get it. That is the reporter's job." This may be a hard saying for the college graduate and other young persons with a pretty talent for writing. But schools and departments of journalism as well as newspapers are insisting upon the fact that to be able to write does not of itself make a young man nor a young woman a journalist, desirable as it is as an asset. The true reporter must have a thirst for experiences, however raw and trivial and inconsequent they may seem to be. He must seize upon the salient, and at the same time not warp the essential facts. He must be ready to live under orders, to jump from one thing to another as if he were catching a train, to admit no fatigue

[1] See Don C. Seitz. *Training for the Newspaper Trade.* Chart of Newspaper Administration.

and no discouragement. If he is a good reporter, he will have gained a cross-section and panoramic view of life that will stand him in good stead, whether he remain in the profession of journalism or not. On the other hand, experience as a newspaper reporter has its disadvantages, reflected in what is termed the journalistic type of mind—the mind that sees everything as a "story," that has little patience with more sober details and little consecutiveness. To quote Mr. Seitz again: "A reporter succeeds from the outset. He 'makes good' or fails promptly. His is not the experience of the young lawyer, doctor, or business man, slowly picking up his load. . . . Being a reporter is eminently a young man's job. He is always on assignments. . . . He must ever be alert and at the command of the relentless 'desk.' . . . He has no hours, but must be ready on call. . . . He must learn to write accurately and to think ahead of his pen. . . . The making of valuable acquaintances is an important factor. It has led to the graduating of many reporters into other lines of success. There is always a chance for promotion outside of the profession, if the inside fails to open up."

Clearly the life of a "straight reporter" is not an easy one for a young woman, however well qualified she may be; and she still suffers from certain disabilities, notably in the matter of acquaintance just spoken of. But to the right type, the difficulties act as a challenge rather than as a deterrent; and there is no reason why she should not be a reporter if she has had sound training and advice, is prepared for hard work, physically, mentally, and morally, and is not too spendthrift of her energies. On some papers the practice persists of giving women society, club, and lecture assignments, or other supposedly easy and lady-like work. But the best training is to be found on papers which send out reporters on the assignments for which they are best fitted, or for which they happen to be available.

Reporting is essentially an apprenticeship for other positions on a newspaper in the department for which the individual shows special aptitude. It also leads to work on magazines of various kinds, on trade journals and "house organs," to advertising and publicity work, and, of late

years, to work on certain sides of the motion-picture business.

Editorial positions for both men and women are far more limited in number and more difficult to obtain than are positions as reporters. But newspapers are on the lookout for reporters who show signs of possessing the "editorial sense," the ability to interpret and evaluate news and to present it effectively to the public. There are many kinds of assistantship in which they may be "tried out." But most minor editorial positions on a newspaper have as little to do with literature as has reporting, and are concerned almost wholly with selecting, "cutting" and otherwise editing reporters' "stories" and other "copy" and with supervising assignments. Such work, however, gives a valuable insight into the composition and operation of a great newspaper. It is usually a long road to appearance on the editorial page, except as everything on a paper moves quickly; but exceptional ability is likely to win prompter recognition than in many other fields. It is said that to be of editorial "timber" a person must have a specialty, a hobby, about which he knows everything. A modern editorial worker needs a solid grounding in economics and politics on both the theoretical and practical sides, a strong sense of the public obligations of the press, and a keen insight with respect to his particular public.

A field of journalism to which both recent writers and the schools of journalism call attention is that of the country or small town newspaper, usually a weekly. Here the young man or the young woman of education and intelligence with a lively interest in country people and country life and its problems, may learn at first hand the essentials of the newspaper business, may be a respected and important member of the community, and may earn an income which, though moderate, will yield larger returns in comfort and human satisfactions than a better income in the city. In journalism, as in banking, there are many advantages accruing from the all-around training furnished by serving an apprenticeship in a small place. Too many beginners look only to the overcrowded and specialized field of urban journalism. To buy a country newspaper of

course requires some capital, although the price is often low; and it is not advisable to make such an investment without some newspaper experience on a salaried basis or at least a full course in journalism with special attention to country conditions. But a number of young men and a few young women of a high type have been investing in these properties with the determination to put the best of themselves and their education into them. Many country papers are down at the heels and small-minded affairs, carried on according to an outworn pattern. With the franchise and an understanding of the new movements in rural health, education, and living conditions, two young college women, let us say, might buy and run such a paper in a way that would be rich in returns to themselves and the community. There are many possibilities of coöperation with county farm-bureaus, schools, granges, churches, health authorities, Boy and Girl Scout organizations, and so on Both the Federal Public Health Service and the American Red Cross have extensive rural health programs, which a country newspaper could do much to further. A major American problem is the improvement of the rural school.

Until about ten years ago, training in journalism was secured by the method of practical experience, through beginning as a "cub reporter" on some city daily, as handyman or even "printer's devil" on some country weekly. Natural aptitude and the lure of the work for the young and adventurous have played a greater part in drawing people into journalism than college education and schools of journalism. Even to-day there are those who hold that the newspaper is the only really effective school. But experienced journalists have long felt this to be a wasteful and hit or miss method, and have advocated organized preparation comparable to that in law or medicine, with properly supervised practice, holding that the public influence of the modern newspaper is too great to be assumed without a comprehensive knowledge of its standards, problems, and procedures. The Pulitzer School of Journalism of Columbia University was endowed as long ago as 1904 by a great New York editor and publisher who wrote of it: "In all my planning the chief end I had in view was

the welfare of the Republic." The Missouri Press Association had long urged the establishment of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, which was opened in 1908, and was the first fully organized school. New York University, the University of Washington, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Indiana also have important schools or departments; and many other universities and colleges give instruction in journalism of a pre-professional or professional character. Some of the state institutions have special courses in agricultural journalism or in the country weekly, and offer short courses and "newspaper weeks" to the journalists of the state, quite as the agricultural colleges do to the farmers. They issue valuable bulletins on journalistic topics.[1] Academic training in journalism ranges from single elective courses in newspaper writing to four-year undergraduate courses and provisions for graduate work. In most schools of journalism, the first two years are devoted to academic work of a cultural character; the last two years to technical courses and to advanced training in economics, politics, history, sociology, and literature. The Pulitzer School of Journalism offers a course covering the last two years of the undergraduate curriculum, and admits graduates of other colleges to its second year, if they have had work equivalent to that of the first. It provides three traveling foreign scholarships of the value of $1,500 each to its graduates.

Modern journalism makes so many demands upon its practitioners that it is difficult to suggest undergraduate courses of special pre-professional value. In addition to those just mentioned, psychology in its various applications is of fundamental importance, as is also anthropology for the light which it throws on racial "folkways." Enough experimental science should be taken to make clear its relations to modern problems and techniques and to give respect for scientific methods and rigorous standards of fact and truth. At the University of California a faculty "committee on journalistic studies" representing several depart-

[1] See James Melvin Lee. *Instruction in Journalism.* U. S. Bureau of Education. 1918. Bulletin No. 21. Burges Johnson. *"Literary Work," Journalism, Advertising* (1919).

ments was established in 1919 to advise students looking forward to journalism as a career and to offer certain joint courses.

Positions on newspapers are largely secured through recommendation or direct application with specimens of work. A young woman may often sell some of her work to a "feature" department before receiving a regular appointment to the staff. Helpful suggestions and advice from prominent journalists are given in a recent Oberlin College bulletin.[1]

Salaries in reportorial work are low to begin with; but advancement comes quickly, if at all. The initial salary must be looked upon as an apprentice wage, giving the opportunity for invaluable practical training. But if it is below the current cost of living, the newspaper, on its part, should recognize its obligation to furnish instruction, at least to the extent of "routing" the beginner through the various departments. In the rush of newspaper work, novices are usually left to sink or swim. Professor James Melvin Lee gives the following report on salaries within his personal knowledge on papers outside the metropolitan districts. They were presumably received in 1918 by students of schools of journalism. "In the case of one hundred reporters who recently secured positions . . . ten were hired at a salary of $18 per week; thirty-eight at $20; twenty-six at $25; twenty-two at $30; and four at $35. . . . In the case of a dozen city editors who were hired during the same period, two secured $30; four $35; four $40; and two about $50 a week. The last figure quoted is about the average weekly salary of the managing editor of the daily published outside the larger cities. Such a managing editor often has charge of the editorial page in addition to his other duties."

During 1919 "newspaper writers' unions" affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were formed in various cities. *The New Republic*[2] states that such a union in Boston increased the average newspaper salary from $21 a

[1] *Vocational Advice for College Students* (1918). See also *Vocations for Business and Professional Women* (1919).

[2] August 6, 1919.

week to a minimum of $38 for reporters and $45 for desk men. Four city editors are members. In Rochester the union demanded $50 a week for experienced reporters. In New Haven, where demands were not granted, the newspaper men established a coöperative daily. Seattle has for some time had a daily, the *Union Record*, backed by organized labor. Papers under coöperative and labor auspices are likely to increase in number.

Five women filling our schedules in 1918 and employed by one middle-western and four eastern newspapers as reporters, feature writers, and sub-editors received salaries ranging from $15 to $35 a week, from $790 to $1,820 a year, with a median salary of $25 a week or $1,300 a year. One receiving $25 had begun at $10 eighteen months before; another with considerable previous experience had begun at $25 seventeen months before. Only one is a college graduate; the others are graduates of high or private schools. One has taken short courses in journalism and advertising at a neighboring university; two have had courses at business schools. Two have been on other papers; one has taught; one has been a secretary; one a hospital social worker; one a librarian and traveling salesman. None of them is over thirty-five. Their work includes regular reporting with special reference to community activities in which women are concerned; special articles on women and children; theater assignments; in one case writing the entire women's page; in the case of the sub-editor, writing special signed articles.

Advice and comments are as follows: "Don't gossip. Don't allow yourself to grow stale. I should have mastered more modern languages, and should have studied government and economics."

"It is a wonderful training for anyone. I should advise determination, courage, a good grasp of 'talking English,' a knowledge of typewriting sufficient to do 'copy' fairly quickly. College education or shorthand are not necessary. Get out before you become hardened or cynical. Use it as a road to something better."

"If I had known that I was going to do newspaper work, I should have taken more intensive English training, and

read all that could have been crammed in—novels, poetry, history, everything written in books."

"I do not advise newspaper work for the average woman. The work is hard, and the hours are not steady but leave you no leisure that you can depend on. There are about twenty men on this paper doing work comparable to mine. Their average salary is not so high. The really experienced newswriter, if a woman, is rather better paid than a man. On this paper men and women are frequently paid a bonus for an especially original idea."

"Do not enter the work unless you have a 'nose for news' and love it. Work at knowing people, and be with the public as much as possible. In newspaper work, if one makes good, there is practically no sum which men and women alike cannot earn by working. . . . I am the only woman on the reportorial staff with eight men, and I require no extras of any kind."

"The only method that I know of to secure a position on a paper is to ask for it."

"Show the sort of work you can do by bringing in a good story on some up to the minute activity. If an editor is familiar with the sort of work a writer does on some other paper, it helps. Keep after him!!"

Probably more women, especially among college graduates, are attracted to the magazine field than to the field of newspaper work proper. Some of them begin as journalists, and come over into magazine work through feature writing or through contributions to magazines. Others, however, enter magazine work directly. There is a difference of opinion as to the value of previous newspaper experience. As many women go into advertising, publicity, and motion-picture work from the newspaper as go into magazine work.

The range of magazines and periodicals of various kinds is enormous and constantly growing, from the weeklies containing summaries of the news and comments upon it, thus touching the newspaper, through the "journals of opinion," the "literary" and "popular" monthlies, the "women's" and "household" magazines, the garden magazines, to

periodicals for every group and occupation,—agricultural and farm, motion-picture, musical, art, scientific, professional, technical, and trade. The number and importance of trade journals are little recognized; but they run into the hundreds, and have a wide circulation. Over three hundred, including dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, are published in New York City alone. Some of them, like *Printers' Ink*, the *Iron Age*, *Women's Wear*, the *Publishers' Weekly*, are nationally influential. These publications pay good salaries, and are on the lookout for people who combine a good general education, newspaper or magazine experience, and at least a preliminary knowledge of the particular industry or trade concerned. More intimate knowledge can be acquired in service, possibly through work as an operative, or in some other department of the business. Trade journals often require statisticians and other technical workers.

Another type of trade periodical is known as a "house organ," published by an individual firm or corporation for its employees and sometimes with their help, to give all members of the personnel information regarding the organization as a whole and to develop general interest, good feeling, and "morale."[1] "House organs" have increased rapidly in number during the past few years, and are properly part of the personnel work of an organization. Some of the most successful have been edited by women. Where they are wholly in the hands of the management, they are not infrequently used as a means of influencing the minds of the workers with regard to political, economic, and social questions. Of late, some of them have contained exceedingly obvious reactionary propaganda. In taking a position on either a trade journal or a house organ, a professional woman should inform herself with regard to the views and policies of the industry or the firm. There is little satisfaction in attempting journalistic or editorial work on a publication with which one is fundamentally out of sympathy.

The largest number of women editors and editorial writers are employed on the great "women's magazines,"

[1] See Robert E. Ramsey. *Effective House Organs* (1920).

some of which have millions of subscribers, and carry an enormous amount of advertising. In a few cases, the editors in chief are women. While it has been the fashion to smile at these magazines, and while they still contain much that is trivial, and also tend to set up false standards of living, they are becoming increasingly aware of certain public questions with which women are closely concerned, and are carrying on campaigns of educational propaganda in connection with public health, child-welfare, education, food, occupations, and so on. They afford a great popular medium for the dissemination of these and other constructive ideas. It would be interesting to see what would happen to their advertising if they undertook to push the coöperative movement, for instance. They often employ women professional experts to deal with the matters which they are actively furthering, and commonly pay salaries well above the average.

Eleven women on magazines and periodicals who filled our schedules in 1918 received salaries ranging from $1,040 to $10,000, with a median salary of about $2,000. The next to the highest salary was only $2,600. They include the editor in chief of a popular women's magazine, the editors of a denominational religious monthly and a "naval monthly," the office editor of a well-known general weekly, the associate editor of a journal of electricity, the assistant editor of a tax association monthly, the editor of a "women in business" department of an "efficiency" magazine; the editor of a "girls' page" in a leading magazine for young people. One woman is editor and publication manager of a technical journal of the popular type; another is owner and editor of a monthly publication for teachers; another is circulation manager of a leading weekly devoted to social and civic betterment. Eight of these women are college graduates, four of eastern and four of western institutions. Five have left college since 1912. One has taken courses in the school of journalism of a western state university; two have been on newspapers, one having been city editor for two years; four have been promoted from subordinate positions on the same magazine; one has been a trained librarian and organizer of business libraries; one

a trained secretary and statistician; one a social and industrial investigator.

The editorial work of these women involves selecting and editing articles, providing illustrations, planning the make-up of each issue and the "lay-out" of pages, pasting the "dummy"; sometimes selecting the cover, proof-reading, writing special articles and news notes. In some cases, they also have charge of advertising or manufacturing, attending to all matters of buying paper, printing, and so forth. The circulation manager is in the business department.

An editor of long experience says: "Learn to do some special thing well. Get a definite idea of what you can offer that will be of value to the concern. Most applicants, especially college women, merely state that they 'want to work on a magazine,' but have nothing special to offer."

A successful young college woman says: "Less high-school methods in freshman courses in college would have been desirable and more stimulus to broaden my interests; throughout college a definite emphasis of the connection between college work and the activities of the world outside. . . . I took the place of a man and at the same salary. . . . Sometimes one can get on the editorial staff of a magazine by writing articles for it. Usually, I think, the thing to do is to go and ask for a job, bringing introductions and recommendations if possible and presenting one's own qualifications."

Another who is associate editor of a technical journal says: "The ability to understand and form judgments on scientific subjects is of more use than actual technical training. College editorial work is of use in securing a position, although this side can be easily picked up. 'Loyalty to the paper' and enthusiasm in the work are most important in the eyes of the employer. Stenography and typewriting are of no value in this work. My association with my father, who is an engineer, and work on engineering books written by him have been most helpful; also my interest in mathematics, science, philosophy, economics, and English, and acquaintance with employers and women through vocational work done for the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. . . . On a technical journal a woman is not worth

quite so much as a man (other things being equal) because she cannot join technical societies and keep in touch with people and happenings. Part of the 'good will' of the business is dependent upon the editor being good friends with everybody . . . . It would take years of acquiring acquaintanceship in technical circles before a woman could handle such a journal independently."

A woman who has been a superintendent of city and state training schools for teachers and for five years an elected county superintendent of schools in the Southwest, owns and edits a teachers' journal, and also runs a ranch. She says: "I edit all material contributed, write book reviews, solicit and arrange all advertising. I find my broad experience in educational work and in community work, city and rural, most helpful."

Opportunities for women in the book publishing field are more limited than in connection with either newspapers or magazines. This is partly because publishing houses are themselves relatively few in number, partly because until recently, few women have been regularly connected with them except as secretaries to executives or routine clerks and stenographers. Some of the best-known firms are old and conservative; in practically all of them men compose the firm and direct its policies. The National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations has its Woman's Press, and a bookshop in New York run by women has done a small amount of publishing. In the larger publishing houses within the past few years, a number of young college women have found a foothold, not through stenography and typing, but as junior assistants on the same basis as young college men. Two of them are now heads of children's departments in long established and important firms. Other women hold responsible posts in both the editorial and advertising departments. The publishing business, like others, is beginning to establish "research" departments, which analyze sales, study population distribution and interests, and in other ways seek to apply the principles of scientific management and cost accounting to an industry in which the

margin of profits is at best small and uncertain.[1] It offers therefore some opportunities to women with training along these lines. It is undertaking more systematic advertising.[2]

For the young woman who has cast aside the fond belief that to secure a position with a publishing house means entering upon a literary career, but who has a keen interest in the making and marketing of books as well as in their contents and a lively curiosity about the reading habits of the public, there are at present genuine opportunities in the book publishing field, although she will have to make them to a large extent. She must expect to begin at the bottom, but if she shows a capacity for hard and intelligent work, an unwillingness to receive special favors, and a fresh and resourceful mind, promotion will not be slow. With women forming so large a portion of the reading public, there is a real chance to help toward a better understanding of the reading requirements of different groups of women. It is too often assumed that they are predominantly a leisure and "consuming" element in the population. Unless she is of the secretarial type of mind, she need no longer use that mode of access to the occupation. And she should clearly realize that nobody *begins* as a "reader" or book reviewer. These kinds of work are usually done on a "piece-work" basis by experienced professional persons. They are among the crumbs that commonly fall to college professors, or are entrusted to expert consultants or members of the firm. Women might well go more largely into the selling end of the book business, which is invaluable as training for its other aspects. As a business, its surroundings and associations are unusually agreeable, its subject-matter and problems of varied and challenging human significance.

The main divisions of book-publishing are general publishing, educational or text-book publishing, religious publishing, and technical publishing. Some firms have all these departments. Within these fields publishers specialize in

[1] See George P. Brett. *Making of Many Books.* Atlantic Monthly, October, 1920.

[2] See A. Edward Newton. *A Slogan for Booksellers* in the same issue.

many ways, so that one comes to know the general character of books bearing certain imprints. So far, there has been no special form of training for publishing-house work other than a liberal education and actual experience in service. But it seems high time for publishers to put their heads together and devise some sort of coöperative courses with neighboring universities rather than to leave the equipment of their personnel on the old-fashioned basis of "picking up a trade." Employment, save as secretaries, is still most frequently secured through direct application backed by introductions and recommendations.

Ten publishers filled our schedules in 1919, including one general book publisher, one general magazine publisher, one publisher of business and educational journals, one of indexes, catalogues, and handbooks, two publishers of educational books, two of religious books, two of trade books and periodicals. Three employed no women except in routine clerical work; four employed them as office managers, accountants, and secretaries to executives; one educational publisher employed them as salesmen, and had a woman assistant manager of the foreign department; a trade publisher had a woman assistant salesmanager; three employed them as proofreaders; one employed only women as indexers and cataloguers; two mention editors. Some of the largest and oldest publishing houses made no reply. The comments range from paternal solicitude for women forced to leave their proper place, the home, to an avowal of the belief that political equality will bring an approach to economic equality between men and women. Opinions differ widely as to the persistence and efficiency of women in the publishing business. "Men are much more persistent. Women get married and leave, or leave anyhow."

"Our impression is that women are fully as efficient and persistent as men."

"In regard to the relative efficiency of men and women doing similar work, we have reached the conclusion that it is 60-40 in favor of men." (This is written over an original 50-50!)

A trade publisher says that he wants college women "every time." An educational publisher says that univer-

sity work fits better for business than brief professional or technical courses.

Many publishers are also retail booksellers, maintaining shops for the purchase of their own publications and those of other firms. This allied field of retail bookselling is an attractive and promising one for women, especially if they have had previous experience in a publishing house, and thus know something of the book trade from the inside. Women are successful managers of large book departments in department stores. One in Chicago is particularly well known. The development of neighborhood and specialty bookshops—drama, poetry, children's, and so on—provides an opportunity that women are seizing. If business sense and professional spirit are brought to such enterprises, no great amount of capital is needed. Examples are the Gardenside Bookshop in Boston, the Wayfarers' Bookshop in Washington, the Priscilla Guthrie Bookshop in Pittsburgh, the Sunwise Turn in New York. The proprietors of the latter establishment have been very successful in the heart of the hotel and terminal district, and are enthusiastic over the possibilities of the neighborhood bookshop as a place where people may drop in to read as well as to buy, and where an expert advisory book service may be given, such as cannot be supplied by a single publisher or by large firms. They would like to see women opening such bookshops throughout the country. There is a chance for intensive study of a neighborhood's reading needs; and the small bookshop may come to be one of the substitutes for the saloon! On the other hand, the idea runs contrary to the modern spirit of consolidation, and the pitfalls that beset the retail book dealer are many.[1] The Bookshop for Boys and Girls of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union has been a delightful pioneer enterprise, which has a follower in the Children's Bookshop in New York. Talks to parents and others on reading for and about children and children's story-hours are among the activities of these establishments. During the summer of 1920 the Bookshop for Boys and Girls sent a motor "book caravan" on an an-

[1] See William H. Arnold. *The Welfare of the Bookstore.* Atlantic Monthly. August, 1919.

nounced schedule through the New England summer-resort country.[1] A Woman's National Book Association has recently been organized, open to all women engaged in making, selling, or creating a book.[2] A few women of experience have established themselves as readers and as authors' agents, reading, criticizing, and placing manuscripts with publishers. Others specialize in placing plays, and are known as play brokers.

The motion-picture business also has its agents; and individual firms are employing an increasing number of educated women in work allied to journalism and advertising. Young college women commonly begin as synopsis writers, making abstracts of stories or books suitable for filming. This is apprentice work, and does not pay highly. But it gives an insight into the requirements of a good motion-picture. A few young women who have shown aptitude have become "continuity writers," which means preparing the script from which the picture is actually taken, with detailed instructions for every stage and aspect. This means familiarity with the production studio. Women are also acting as assistants to the manager of the editorial department, and are "title-writers" and reviewers of films. Much title-writing, however, is done by the staff as a group. There is a difference of opinion as to whether authors can satisfactorily coöperate in the making of scenarios[3] from their own writings. Most producers have relegated them to the background, but a few are seeking their active aid, even in continuity writing. There is a demand for scenarios of more literary quality than is usually found at present; but the road to becoming a successful writer of scenarios is long and uncertain. Three universities, Har-

[1] Mary Frank. *Caravaning with Books.* The Bookman, February, 1921.

[2] It is coöperating (1921) with the New York Booksellers' League in a plan for courses for workers in bookselling to be given by New York University and the New York Public Library.

[3] See John Emerson and Anita Loos. *How to Write Photo-Plays* (1920).

vard, Columbia,[1] and the University of Pennsylvania, offer courses in scenario and other motion-picture writing. A few women have been assistant producers; fewer, producers.

The rise of the motion-picture business has been spectacular. It is estimated that it is now the fourth industry in the United States. It is emerging from its "wild-cat" stage and its practically exclusive control by theatrical producers. Its significance as a medium of communication as well as of recreation and its tremendous social appeal both for good and ill compel the serious attention of professional workers. The efficacy of the motion-picture as a medium of information to people of varied social groups and speaking different languages was abundantly shown during the war. There is coming to be a clear distinction between "commercial" or theatrical films, shown in motion-picture houses, and educational and informational films supplied directly to schools, clubs, churches, factories, labor unions, prisons and reformatories, and so on, by such agencies as the Community Motion Picture Bureau and the Educational Film Corporation. A new Labor Film Service has been organized. As a result of overseas experience in war-time, motion-picture "camionettes" are being sent into country districts to provide both entertainment and instruction, reinforcing the work of the States' Relations and Public Health Services, the American Red Cross, and other agencies active in rural betterment.

In addition to editorial, production, advertising, and circulating departments, all calling for expert workers of various kinds, motion-picture companies employ research workers in connection with settings, costumes, and the like, on a salaried or piece-work basis. Competition for positions is keen; and professional women are only beginning to appear in the work. Salaries for those who succeed are high. Title-writers are said to receive from $100 to $250 a week; continuity writers about $750 a month. An occupation developing with such rapidity and capable of so many applications offers much that is of interest to the professionally-minded woman, and may provide her with permanent satisfactions. (See Chapter XVI.)

[1] See Frances Taylor Patterson. *Cinema Craftsmanship.* (1920.)

Advertising is an activity essential to modern methods of selling commodities and services, and so far as can be seen would be necessary under any system of large-scale production and distribution. It has emerged from a "patent-medicine" past, and is reaching the point where every advertisement shall be a "specification of the character and a guaranty of the quality" of what is sold. Some of the great advertising companies refuse to sign contracts until they have made a careful investigation of the nature and usefulness of the product to be advertised. They stand back of their facts, and are beginning to develop a sense of social responsibility about "creating a market" for things that are superfluous or meretricious. But like other types of commercial enterprise, advertising is as yet only imperfectly professionalized in the full sense; and women going into it need to be sure that they can do so without doing violence to their social and ethical standards. It is highly important to know beforehand the attitude of the company with which they are identifying themselves. On the other hand, it is estimated that eighty-five per cent of retail buying is in the hands of women; and professional women in advertising have an opportunity to study this consuming public more carefully than has yet been done and to direct it more wisely. Many firms consider that it is essential to employ women in connection with the advertising of goods appealing particularly to women; but women are not limiting themselves to work with women.

The two main types of advertising are local advertising, which is largely retail, and national advertising, which is largely by the manufacturer, producer, or wholesale distributer. Department store advertising is an example of the first type; industrial advertising of special makes or brands of articles is the great example of the second type. Financial advertising, theatrical and motion-picture advertising, and book advertising partake of the nature of both. Retail or local advertisers practically always have their own advertising departments; national advertisers are more likely to employ advertising firms or agencies; many business organizations make use of both. The media of advertising are many. The accepted carriers are the newspaper, the

magazine, the billboard or wall sign, the booklet or circular, the advertising letter. More recent are the electric sign and the motion-picture. Advertising to reach manufacturers and large distributers is found chiefly in the journals of various trades and industries. The automobile, both the pleasure car and the truck, has increased the importance of outdoor display advertising. Much of it is abhorrent to the lover of rural or urban beauty; and a problem in civic art is that of improving the æsthetic character of the billboard and the permanent sign. Some of the war-time examples give encouragement.

Although many people have gone into advertising from the newspaper or magazine field, the actual writing of advertising copy is only one part—and perhaps not the most important part—of the modern business of advertising. Especially in national advertising, campaigns and programs are based upon the most careful antecedent investigation of the nature of the article to be advertised, the amount of competition to be met in selling it, the distributions of population, the special groups to be appealed to, the best modes of approaching them, the costs and profits. All these matters have been reduced to a scientific basis, expressed in terms of statistics, graphs and charts. The workers required must be trained in the best methods of commercial research, applied to the advertising field. They need large-mindedness and imagination as well as technical training. There is a chance for an originality which is not sensational nor eccentric. Workers are prone to follow certain successful methods in a sheeplike way; and even now the psychology of different buying publics is imperfectly understood.

Advertising workers of professional character are of four main types: (1) Research workers, investigators, statisticians, etc. (2) Managers and agents; (3) Copy-writers, designers, and illustrators. (4) Solicitors, attached to publications, who sell space to firms wishing to advertise. There are also "lay-out" workers, who plan the arrangement of advertising matter for magazines, newspapers, bill-boards, and so on; and space-buyers, who must know the advertising value of different publications and their space rates. Some experienced women have become advertising con-

sultants, preparing trade catalogues, circulars, and other matter.[1]

The research aspect of advertising is the most recently developed, and is probably the most directly accessible and the most rewarding to professional women with training in economics, business administration, psychology, or some special field closely related to the commodities advertised, such as foods or textiles. Managerial positions are reached through securing a thorough knowledge of the business by serving in one or other of the subordinate positions and studying it in all its ramifications. Too much cannot be known of the product or products advertised. The advertisements of the organization and of others should be critically compared; trade journals should be assiduously read. Some of the leading women advertising managers have reached their present positions through becoming connected with the company as stenographers; but this is no longer a necessary nor in most cases a desirable approach. Some firms are taking on young college women as apprentices, and giving them experience on different sides of the business. It is sometimes well to begin with a small company or agency in order to secure this "all-around" training, but on the whole, the larger firms have the better organization and procedures.

Many newspaper women have gone into advertising, and their training in compression and in writing salient headlines has been of value. But there are certain ingrained newspaper habits which work against success in advertising. The advertisement is far less ephemeral than the newspaper paragraph; it appeals to a specific group within the vague total known as "the public"; its efficacy is constantly checked by the correlations of expenditures for advertising and receipts from sales; it defeats its own end if it is incorrect or misleading. The rough and slapdash methods of the reporter will not do. Experience in actual salesmanship either behind the counter or "on the road" is considered of even greater value as training for the advertising business; and beginners are often advised to serve an actual

[1] See Eleanor Gilbert. *The Ambitious Woman in Business* (1916), Chapter 13. Advertising and the Woman Who Can Write.

apprenticeship as salesmen. They should at least be familiar with the modern psychology of salesmanship and advertising, as set forth in such books as those of Dr. Walter Dill Scott. It is coming to be recognized also that more attention should be paid to the psychology and ethics of buying, the attitude of the actual purchaser and consumer.

Advertising companies and departments usually maintain a small art force; but much of the actual illustrating and designing is done on a piece-work basis by "free-lance" workers. It is important, however, for all advertising workers, especially copy writers and "lay-out" workers, to understand the principles of design and spatial composition and, if possible, to have some knowledge of the psychological principles of space and color vision, the effect of different forms and colors at varying distances and varying speeds.[1] To study advertisements in street-cars, for instance, is to realize the deplorable lack of such knowledge. Almost equally important is a practical knowledge of printing and reproduction processes, styles of type, and so on. To secure this, it is often desirable to attend evening classes in printing and typography or even one of the "printers' schools," or to serve a while at the printers' trade.

There are no schools of advertising of university grade, but most schools of commerce and business administration give courses in the subject, as do many departments of psychology. At least one great national advertising company has its own training course, and has recently arranged for the coöperation of a leading university. Short courses for workers are given by extension departments, the Young Men's Christian Associations, and business institutes. Closely allied training is to be found in bureaus or departments of wholesale and retail salesmanship (see p. 249). Positions are secured through direct application, or through advertisement in such trade journals as *Printers' Ink* and *Advertising and Selling*. Advice as to firms hospitable to the employment of women may be secured from bureaus of occupations or the Bureau of Vocational Information in

[1] See E. Sampson. *Advertise!* (1918). Frank Parsons. *Principles of Advertising Arrangement* (1912).

New York. Leagues and clubs of advertising women exist in eleven states; and women are admitted to some of the national advertising associations.

Salaries in advertising range from $20 a week for beginners of good education who are learning the business to from $25 to $75 a week for copy writers; from $1,500 or $1,800 to $3,000 or $4,000 for assistant managers; from $4,000 to $10,000 or more for managers. Only a few women have reached the highest managerial salaries. Research workers receive from $1,500 for subordinates to $5,000 or more for directors of departments.[1] Six women filling our schedules in 1918 and 1919 reported salaries ranging only from $1,020 to $2,400 with a median salary of $1,410. Five are college graduates, four of recent classes. Three are assistant advertising managers in department stores in New England, the south, and California; two are in advertising agencies, one an apprentice and one the secretary-treasurer of the company; and one is a copy writer and assistant to the advertising manager of a fuel gas company. Five graduates of 1917 and 1918 of an eastern college are in the advertising departments of department stores, one as manager, and in the research departments of a fashion and pattern company, of an associated drygoods corporation, and the commercial research division of a great popular publishing company carrying much advertising.

The graduate of a western university says: "Our store is progressive. Modern methods are continually being installed. The business is growing. Its department heads are mostly young men and women, and it is beginning to employ college trained people. In my general education, my courses in English, journalism, and psychology have been most helpful. Work on a newspaper gave me excellent training as an advertising writer. My knowledge of type and of how to write headlines has been most useful. There

[1] Bureau of Vocational Information, *Vocations for Business and Professional Women;* also Bulletin No. 5. *Positions of Responsibility in Department Store Organizations* (1921); also an unpublished study made in 1919-1920 by the Employment Department of the New York City Branch of the Y. W. C. A. of 39 advertising agencies and 16 advertising departments of companies and corporations in the New York area.

are no salary differences here so far as sex is concerned. Every employee comes up for a salary increase every six months. Women considering advertising should be very sure that they wish to enter the profession, and be willing to work long hours and hard."

The assistant in a fuel gas company says: "There is a splendid field for keen, alert, well-educated women in the advertising business in almost any branch, but they have to work inside and outside the office. . . . I was given a chance to 'make good' and to develop the feminine viewpoint in gas-appliance advertising. I have found useful in my professional training detail work in printing, etc. I sometimes take on extra advertising work, such as copy or house organs."

The distinctions between commercial advertising and publicity have already been set forth. It took the war to make them so explicit that separate publicity organizations and workers have appeared. Publicity has to do with the winning of active public attention to a cause, institution, organization, or movement, which will express itself in contributions, membership, volunteer aid, or other forms of carrying out the program suggested. Private organizations usually seek funds either directly or indirectly, or their publicity may be primarily educational, looking toward the shaping of public opinion in certain directions, such as publicity campaigns for improved schools, public health, or more enlightened labor legislation. Political organizations aim at a publicity that will win votes, government departments, such as the United States Department of Agriculture, at widespread diffusion of useful information and improvement of specific conditions. Enormous amounts of money have been spent on publicity of late years. Labor organizations have learned the lesson, and are maintaining such elaborate publicity organizations as that of the Plumb Plan League in Washington. Publicity organizations are specializing in college "drives," in civic activities of chambers of commerce, in philanthropic, religious, financial, and industrial appeals. Publicity deals with the novel, the timely.

It studies the public feeling of the moment, and is essentially a form of promotion. The professional requirements and standards of each publicity undertaking must therefore be carefully determined. Qualifications vary with the subject-matter; but twelve publicity agencies in New York City interviewed in connection with a survey of opportunities for women in publicity work made by the employment department of the Central Branch of the Young Women's Christian Association in 1920 agreed that from two to five years of newspaper experience, including actual reporting, was essential. Work on special "drives" or campaigns is temporary in the nature of the case; but an increasing number of social and civic organizations are maintaining permanent publicity departments. Opinions vary as to whether workers in such departments should be trained journalists and advertising workers or trained workers in the special field. The facts and opinions presented should certainly be from first-hand and competent acquaintance. College and professional women are being employed by most publicity organizations or departments; but the field is limited. A few experienced women are setting up as publicity consultants. Salaries for experienced women are around $50 a week, and are said to be about ten per cent lower than those for men.

CHAPTER XVI

ART SERVICES: LITERATURE, DRAMA, PAGEANTRY; ARCHITECTURE; OTHER FINE AND APPLIED ARTS

ALTHOUGH the arts have long taken high rank among the professions and possess many of the fundamental professional attributes—disinterestedness, group spirit, and a public and social value increasingly recognized—the demands upon their practitioners are so exceptional, so individual, in many ways so immeasurable, that it is impossible to discuss professional women in the arts as in the other professions. On the other hand, the arts interpenetrate so many professions, and their contribution is so vitally needed in our modern social order, and falls so far short of what it might be, that any treatment of women professional workers would be incomplete without at least a general statement of their status and opportunities in these fields. Moreover, women workers have been numerous in both the fine and the applied arts, and nowhere else has their professional achievement been judged more wholly on its merits.

In the fine arts particularly, this achievement depends upon a high degree of native endowment reinforced by the best modern training, favorable surroundings, and opportunities for the practice of the art chosen. We no longer accept complacently the old idea that artistic ability finds its fullest expression through struggling with untoward circumstances. Without artistic ability the possession of technical skill does not bring success, and even when both are of a high order, the artist's road to an assured professional position is long and difficult. It shows the strength of the art impulse and the depth of the artist's inner satisfactions that so many people are willing to face the dis-

appointments and uncertainties of the artist's career. In the applied arts there is room for more kinds and degrees of talent and technical equipment; but here too, real preëminence is rare. In fact, the distinction between the fine and the applied arts is historic and practical rather than fixed and absolute. All arts are based on the same fundamental principles, and all are more or less related to the crafts and industries and to the public and private conduct of life. Women contemplating entering any of the art professions need to be sure of their own artistic aptitude and to inform themselves thoroughly with respect to preparation and opportunities. No preparation other than the best is worth having.

The fine arts are commonly said to include literature, drama, music, painting, and sculpture. Architecture is the great link between the fine and the applied arts, as it is between art and the engineering sciences. Closely related to it are landscape architecture and design, and city and town planning. Related in another way are interior decoration and design as applied to furniture, fabrics, wall-papers, carvings, tiles, glass, porcelain, metal and leather work, basketry, and other articles of interior use and ornament. Another group of design arts has to do with textiles and clothing, jewelry, lace, and embroidery. In another group are the art of book binding and the graphic arts, etching, engraving, printing, illustrating, poster making, and possibly artistic photography. The motion picture and the music record both have their artistic aspects and possibilities.

The arts are also classified as the space arts and the time arts, with literature, the drama, and the dance partaking of the character of both. Fundamentally the effect produced by any work of art, whether spatial or temporal, is due to certain combinations of pattern and rhythm which reinforce old and deeply rooted organic and instinctive patterns and rhythms in human beings. This unusual degree of correspondence between the object and the organism produces an effect at the same time of life-enhancement and of reconciliation, a sense of escape from conflict, limitation, and self-consciousness and the attainment for a brief space of a deeper insight and a fuller satisfaction than or-

dinary life affords. It is this correspondence which makes the work of art a direct and powerful source of emotion and suggestion and thus an agency of unique social value through its ability to transmit to a group of people common feelings, moods, and attitudes of mind. Its definite subject-matter is subordinate to the kind of emotional response that it evokes.

We are coming to see that with the complexities, specializations, and separations of modern life, we need something fundamental that shall bring people together, and furnish some interpretation of these things, some compensation for them, even if it cannot do away with them. Moreover, national prohibition and reductions in hours of labor compel us to face the urgent problems of the uses of leisure time. Art has a major rôle to play in any adequate program for public recreation. Its place in factory production is more difficult to determine. But we are attacking the problems of industrial art with new vigor since the war, and are learning much from other countries.

As has been said, professional work in journalism, publishing, and advertising is commercial rather than literary, although it may give acquaintance with literary externals. The essence of literature as an art is the impulse to communicate to others through one of the many literary forms —poem, play, short story, novel, essay, criticism, history— a fresh and individual interpretation of some aspect of human life. This impulse is strengthened and embodied in appropriate literary form not through living in any sort of "literary atmosphere" but through thinking and feeling clearly and vividly and gaining insight into personality, situation, and the varieties of human experience. People do not begin as writers of literature, and no woman should expect to earn her living through authorship until she has made a name for herself as a writer. It is probably not desirable that she should. Most good writing is done in intervals of creative leisure. To look over a volume of *Who's Who* to discover the occupations of contemporary writers is an informing exercise for a beginner. There are,

however, certain literary and social tendencies of to-day which are likely to influence young women with genuine literary ability and modern outlook. Chief among these are current movements in poetry and the drama, both of which are showing vigorous life and commanding wide popular interest. The magazines are hospitable to really good verse and to good writing of other kinds. The course in play-writing given by Professor George P. Baker of Harvard University has led to similar courses of a pre-professional and professional character in other colleges. Not only college training in English but the general liberalizing and enriching of mind and experience that come through college work and college personal contacts are a valuable background for the young writer. Literature is no longer thought of as a matter of pure inspiration. The literary artist, like other artists, has to serve an apprenticeship. A student with literary interests and aptitudes receives nowadays in college generous encouragement and assistance, and has varied opportunities to try herself out in college publications, prize contests, and the like. Outside of college, the competition is severe.

The social contribution of art in enabling people to share a concrete and satisfying experience has already been spoken of. We are coming to understand more clearly that full sharing must be active and not merely passive, a genuine participation. One of the great weaknesses of modern commercial recreation through the theater and the moving-picture is its passivity. It is the logical result of long hours and routine work, the recreation of tired and bored people. With greater leisure there is prospect of a wider demand for more active and more artistic types of recreation. The emotional appeals will not have to be so crude and so violent in order to overcome the inertia of fatigue. Gilbert Chesterton has lately observed characteristically: "To amuse oneself is a mark of gaiety, vitality, and love of life. To be amused is a mark of melancholy, surrender, and potential suicide." There have been efforts during the last few years to develop popular interest and participation in various arts through community pageants and folk-dancing, community singing, community drama,

exhibitions of community handicrafts, competitions and exhibitions in industrial design, traveling collections of pictures. The numerous parades during and after the war revealed the possibilities, good and bad, of civic decoration. Libraries, art museums, schools, social settlements, community centers, city governments, have all been helping to show that art is not a luxury of the few—as it never has been until modern times—but a possession and an activity of the many. Only beginnings have been made. But in ten years the progress has been notable, and the next ten years promise far more comprehensive results.

Of these various efforts to develop a social art, the growth of the civic and art drama, as distinct from the commercial drama, is most conspicuous. It has expressed itself in diverse ways, through little theaters, of which there are now more than fifty; special companies giving outdoor plays, like the Ben Greet Company and the Coburn Players; performances under academic auspices, as in the Harvard Stadium and the University of California Greek Theater; plays written and performed by students or by other groups of amateurs or semi-amateurs; neighborhood plays like those for which the little Neighborhood Theater in New York was designed; community pageant and drama on a large scale like those composed and directed by Percy MacKaye. Hitherto the movement has been more or less scattered, amateur, at times a matter of pose. It has been a protest and a demonstration rather than an organized constructive movement. But it stands for a fundamental idea, and it gives every sign of becoming an increasingly important part of normal community life. It is intimately allied with the movement for stage setting and decoration in accordance with æsthetic and psychological principles and with modern movements in dancing and music, which are calling for the combined efforts of dramatists, poets, actors, musicians, interpretative dancers, designers of settings and costumes, producers, directors, and managers. Professional women are serving in all these capacities, and are likely to be in increasing demand. There is still difficulty in securing really professional training except through apprenticeship and experience. The Carnegie Institute of

Technology has been working out for several years a comprehensive course in drama, festival, and stage setting; and there are a few standard schools of the drama, notably the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York, which has long been under the direction of Mr. Franklin H. Sargent. Madame Yvette Guilbert has recently opened a School of the Theater in New York. Professor Baker's course in play-writing and his dramatic workshop at Harvard have been a veritable school of playwrights, and similar work at Vassar and in other institutions promises like results. There are various schools of classic, posture, and folk dancing. Experience in college and in settlement dramatic work and in music-school settlements has often proved of value. The National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations has established a department of pageantry and the drama; Community Service, Incorporated, a similar department. Rural community drama has been encouraged under the leadership of the College of Agriculture of Cornell University, the State Agricultural College of North Dakota, and by other agencies. The Drama League of America with headquarters in Washington, a central dramatic bookshop, and branches and bookshops in various cities, fosters genuine dramatic interests of all kinds. Special efforts are being made to develop the dramatic interests and standards of children.

This widespread and growing attention to the drama as a social and educational agency is providing opportunities for women in connection with settlement houses, community centers, Community Service, Incorporated, the Young Women's Christian Associations, dramatic associations, civic theaters, and to some extent in schools and colleges. Pageant directors usually do their work on a fee-charging basis; other workers may be employed on a salary. Both training and employment are still unstandardized, but the field challenges the attention of women of artistic and social interests and equipment who are ready to throw in their lot with a significant movement and to help in shaping it.

The relation of professional women to the commercial theater and even more to the whole motion-picture industry

is far more difficult to determine and to discuss in brief. Leaders of the stage have always stood for its artistic character and ideals; and many of them are in the full as in the popular sense "professionals," continually studying the problems of acting as one of the great arts. A woman seriously considering acting as a profession can probably do nothing better than first to study carefully what great actors past and present have said of the stage and possibly to consult some well-known actor or actress of high standards, who takes an interest in the training of beginners. A recent book on *Training for the Stage* strongly advocates a year or two of study in a good school of acting like the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, and laments that we have no publicly supported schools, such as are common in European countries. "The dramatic profession is the only one in the United States in which the ignorant beginner is paid to be taught, and taught by a slow, laborious, confused method of picking his way through the mazes of theatrical experience, experimenting meanwhile before the paying public. The necessity for an educational policy for the actor, not only for his general culture and the technical requirements of his craft but for the development of all his personal powers and faculties, is slowly but surely obtaining recognition. Indeed, the denial of the value of good educational preparation and systematic study calls in question the very right of acting to be termed an art or profession."[1] The stock company no longer affords adequate training. The civic and art drama and the commercial drama are undoubtedly learning from each other. In the meantime the road to artistic success on the regular stage is long, difficult, and uncertain, with constant hard work under trying conditions and small and irregular financial returns. Only women whose ability can find no adequate satisfaction elsewhere, and who have both mental and physical vigor and staying power, should attempt the actor's career. Successful women playrights are not uncommon; and there are a few women dramatic agents and playbrokers. The woman dramatic critic is rare.

Two women connected with one of the most successful

[1] Arthur Hornblow. *Training for the Stage* (1916), p. 130.

of the "little theater" ventures in New York filled our schedules in 1918. One, a graduate of a western university and of a well-known school of expression, was a producer and director of plays for the company, having full charge of the production of the play on the acting side and advising with the scenic director. The other has been vice-president of the company, play reader, and at times an actress.

The director says: "There are comparatively no women producers. It has always been a theory of the theater that a man must direct, and it is hard to break in. I got in through the Little Theater Movement, which is much broader in regard to women. I attend all possible performances of all kinds, and study production in this way. The only way to secure positions is to apply in person. It is very difficult unless you can show your work, or come highly recommended from well-known people. The whole theatrical game is a gamble!"

The development of the motion-picture business has been so extraordinary, and is still so far from being fully evolved or stable that it is impossible to make assured statements or even prophecies about its professional and art aspects. It has hitherto been chiefly in the hands of producers recruited from the commercial spoken theater, and can be compared with that on its business side and with journalistic and advertising enterprises (see Chapter XV) rather than with the arts. Nevertheless, it has large artistic possibilities; and its social appeal is so tremendous that it merits careful attention from those committed to the development of a modern popular art. Its psychology cannot be ignored any more than the psychology of the Sunday newspaper, the comic supplement, or billboard and electric advertising. It shares with them the drawback of being a passive and at the same time a highly stimulating kind of experience. But in spite of these limitations, its concreteness, vividness, and accessibility give it high potential value as an educational and artistic medium. Its educational use is being steadily developed; and some of the leading writers of the day are studying its techniques. Some

of the great spectacular films have genuine artistic beauty, and have invited the coöperation of artists and other experts in their preparation. The recent gift by the head of the Eastman Kodak Company of three and a half million dollars to the University of Rochester to endow a great school to aid in the development of appreciation of the highest type of music in alliance with the highest type of motion picture may mark the beginning of their recognition as an art form. Hitherto professional women other than actresses have had little to do with the motion-picture business except as secretaries to directors, or as writers of synopses, scenarios, or motion-picture advertisements. But its growing dependence upon historic and artistic research and upon methods worked out in the best modern pageantry and stage setting is likely to increase opportunities for women professionally trained along these lines.

Professional musicians, painters, and sculptors secure their training through the best schools and masters in this country and abroad, and make their reputations and careers through the quality of their work. Unlike European countries we have no publicly supported schools and fellowships for the encouragement of the fine arts, save in the case of a few museum schools under public control. But we are apparently entering upon a period of large private endowments for this purpose. In addition to the Eastman foundation already mentioned, the past year has seen the establishment of the Juillard Musical Foundation with an endowment estimated at from five to twenty million dollars and of the Louis Comfort Tiffany Art Foundation with an endowment of a million in addition to the donor's country estate and art collections. Both are primarily for the benefit of promising students of the respective arts. A collaboration of the arts in the public interest is seen in the recently inaugurated practice of giving a series of free concerts in the great city art museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Art Institute of Chicago. The three-year fellowships of the American Academy in Rome in painting, sculpture, architecture, and landscape

architecture, of the value of $1,000 a year, are now for the first time open to women. There are also a few traveling fellowships in painting and music at $1,500 a year. There is a National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors.

The most frequent salaried positions for women well equipped in the fine arts are to be found in teaching, particularly in public schools, and in museums. Special training in the teaching of art to children of various ages may be secured at such institutions as Teachers College of Columbia University, the School of Education of the University of Chicago, and the Massachusetts Normal Art School. The new psychology of art teaching breaks down the sharp distinction between the fine and applied arts, and makes much of composition and pattern as applied to articles made by the children themselves. There are also more limited opportunities in art schools and classes; and there is every prospect of a great impetus arising largely out of the war toward the teaching of industrial art as an important aspect of vocational education. The American Federation of Arts in 1918 passed a resolution urging the Federal Board for Vocational Education to encourage the development of this vocational field.[1] Grand Rapids, Michigan, a great furniture-making center, has established a school of art and industry as part of its public school system; and there are other general or special schools such as the Rhode Island School of Design and the Massachusetts state-supported textile schools. Teachers of industrial art are likely to be in great demand. They should preferably have had some European training.

Opportunities are developing in the fields of community and school group music. The war greatly increased the popularity of group singing under trained leaders; and although the majority of these leaders are men, there are places for women leaders in shops and factories where women are employed, in schools, settlements, community clubs of women, Girl Scout and Young Women's Christian

[1] See *Industrial Art, A National Asset: A Series of Graphic Charts.* U. S. Bureau of Education. Industrial Education Circular, No. 3. May, 1919.

Association groups, prisons and reformatories for women, and so on.

Architecture is the most thoroughly professionalized of the applied arts in which women have engaged. While the number of women architects is still small in comparison with the number of men, it has increased markedly in the last forty years. According to the federal census, there were seventeen women architects in the United States in 1880; three hundred and two in 1910. These, however, were less than one per cent of the total number of architects. The increase in the past ten years has probably been small. Only four women are reported by the Bureau of Education as receiving architectural degrees in 1916. Nevertheless many of the larger cities have women architects in successful independent practice; and others are in salaried positions with architectural firms. Still others are using their architectural training as an invaluable background for their work as interior decorators. The architectural profession has not been notably hospitable to the small body of women workers; and it has been alleged that women architects are seriously at a disadvantage on the engineering and contracting sides of the work. This is a statement that cannot as yet be wholly disproved. But most of the best schools of architecture are open to women as well as to men, so that they may receive the same training. And a few women architects have handled without difficulty both the letting of contracts and the actual supervision of workmen. Many, however, have preferred office positions, and even with full architectural training have perhaps too often been content to serve as architectural draftsmen. An apprenticeship of this kind in a good office is, however, of value to every architect. In some states, practicing architects must be licensed. With the housing experience gained during the war and the urgency of present housing problems, especially for industrial workers and other people of small incomes, there seems a new opportunity for women architects to direct their attention to building for these groups and to the problem of community centers. There is also a chance

to specialize in the remodeling of old houses, both in town and country. A woman architect in New York has done distinctive work in the making over of old-fashioned dwellings into attractive apartment houses. It is often said that there should be a woman architect in every office to pass upon the practical convenience and utility of all plans for private houses and public institutions. While this is undoubtedly true, it by no means exhausts the range of possibilities for women. They should follow their individual bent and the demands of the profession as freely as men. The professional training for architecture is long and severe; but it appeals in so many ways that it is surprising that more women with tastes and aptitudes in these directions do not choose it as a profession.

There are probably more women landscape architects than architects proper; but not so many with a training which measures up to the highest standards. It is difficult to draw the line between the woman landscape architect, the woman landscape gardener, and even the simple consulting gardener. There are two small schools of landscape architecture exclusively for women; but women seriously considering this work will do well to consult the best authorities in the profession in regard to training. Several large universities give excellent courses.[1] With the increase in country estates and the greater interest in formal landscape treatment that is likely to follow our closer European contacts, there should be less uncertain opportunities for the thoroughly equipped woman in this profession. Large architectural firms not infrequently have landscape architects on their staffs.

It sometimes seems as if half the women of our acquaintance were becoming interior decorators; and the term covers every type from women of prolonged professional training to amateurs adventuring in business on a small capital of taste and encouragement from their friends. *Vocations for Business and Professional Women* says that "at

[1] See Henry V. Hubbard and Theodora Kimball. *Landscape Architecture—A Classification Scheme.* Harvard University Press (1920).

the foot of the scale are those with little training who are not much more than shoppers" and at the other extreme women with from six to nine years of training who are recognized as experts. It is indeed a "profession in the making," and the present lively interest in the subject, stimulated by the popular magazines and the flood of art objects, art ideas, and art catchwords swelled by the war, is bringing into it in even greater numbers people without professional equipment or attitude. On the other hand, a number of experienced and well-established women decorators in New York have been working for several years toward a professional organization and a formulation of standards of preparation, apprenticeship, and compensation. It is only through such efforts that the occupation can really acquire a professional status. It suffers from being so largely on the basis of independent and competitive business, although there are salaried positions to be had with the larger firms and in the interior decorating departments of the great department stores and furnishing houses. As a whole, it is perhaps not unfair to say that it is at present more nearly on the basis of dressmaking than on the basis of a profession. Nevertheless, many of the standard schools of art and design are giving courses of two or even three years in interior decorating, including the elements of architecture, the study of historic periods, design, color, ornament, furniture, textiles. This training involves the working out of concrete problems or "projects" in decoration and the use of illustrative materials in museums, available private collections, and commercial houses of reputation. The University of Minnesota is requiring the first two years' work in architecture of its students of interior decorating. The Beaux-Arts Institute of Design in New York, in coöperation with the Society of Beaux Arts Architects, the Art Alliance of America, the National Sculpture Society, and the Society of Mural Painters, offers courses in architectural design interior decoration and industrial art design, sculpture, modeling of ornament, and composition in mural painting.

At present, training in interior decorating has marked limitations on the business side—buying, marketing, making of specifications and contracts, estimating of costs—which

might be done away with through practice and apprentice arrangements between the schools and interior decorating firms and departments of high standing. Apprenticeship to-day is on an individual and precarious basis with low pay, seasonal fluctuation of employment, and no assurance of training beyond what may be picked up.

With the beginnings already made, interior decorating is at a point where it might easily progress through the further stages of professional evolution—organization of associations; formulation of educational standards and programs; definition of apprenticeship; standardization of salaries and fees; possible registration of qualified workers; holding of exhibitions and competitions. It has much to learn in these matters from the allied profession of architecture Interior decorators, like other modern workers, tend to specialization in hangings, furniture, lighting arrangements, and so on. But to be truly professional, they must have an understanding of the principles and problems of their entire field.

Of more permanent and recognized artistic importance is the work of the mural or decorative painter. There has been a marked development of this form of art in this country within recent years, and it is to be found in the arger private houses as well as in public buildings, hotels, and occasionally in churches. At least one woman mural painter, Miss Violet Oakley, has achieved distinction. The designing of stained glass is a related art. The decorative painter also frequently designs magazine covers and posters; and some of them are successful illustrators. The field of poster designing has been greatly enlarged by the war, and American posters have improved conspicuously in effectiveness and artistic character. They will undoubtedly continue to be used in many forms of publicity, and offer a practically new opportunity to women of good modern training, originality, and understanding of the nature of popular appeal. Their recent artistic development is bound to improve the character of much billboard, display, and magazine advertising.

Illustrating in both black and white and color is com-

monly divided into pictorial, including magazine, book, or newspaper illustrating, and commercial, including fashion drawing and the preparation of other drawings and sketches for trade catalogues, trade journals, and the advertising sections of magazines and papers. The growth of the greeting-card industry has increased the demand for pictorial illustrations. Most of the art schools provide special courses in poster designing and illustrating. They are recognized forms of commercial art. Under this heading may also be included commercial photography, which is largely used in the reproduction of trade objects and models. A commercial artist is likely to need a supplementary knowledge of photographic processes and other forms of mechanical reproduction. The woman cartoonist is practically unknown, but there is no reason why she may not appear.

Industrial art in the narrower sense has to do with the preparation of designs to be used in the processes of manufacturing by machinery. In the broader sense it includes the crafts, the making by hand of artistic objects of daily use. Industrial designers prepare designs for textiles, especially for printed or woven patterns in silk or cotton; for clothing; for lace and embroidery; for jewelry; for wall-paper, rugs and carpets; furniture, pottery, glass, and metal work. The war has made tremendous changes in industrial art, by throwing us upon our own resources and forcing manufacturers for the first time seriously to study the reasons for European superiority in many fields. We are at the beginning of a new and active period. The industries are coöperating with the art schools and with the great museums. They are offering prizes in design competitions, and establishing scholarships and fellowships. The Metropolitan Museum has within the past year appointed an associate in industrial arts, and held an industrial art exhibit with special reference to textiles and costumes. The Art Alliance of America has conducted several contests and exhibitions of industrial design with prizes offered by the great trade paper, *Women's Wear,* and by various manufacturers. Plans have been matured for a comprehensive survey of our existing industrial art re-

sources by the National Society for Vocational Education in coöperation with art schools, art museums, and manufacturers and looking to the development of a national program for the training of designers. Among industries to be studied are the costume trades, textiles, printing, jewelry, silverware, wall-paper, lighting fixtures, ceramics, furniture, and interior decoration.

There is a corresponding activity in the field of the artistic handicrafts and a growing understanding of their bearing on artistic production as a whole. The National Society of Craftsmen has founded a school for the training of workers, and advocates the establishment of such schools in connection with factories. In June 1919 the Art Alliance of America held an exhibition of the handicrafts of foreign-born workers, which attracted the attention of manufacturers. Through its artistic industries section, it is now organizing a system with neighborhood houses as centers for bringing these handicrafts into relations with manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers, both as artistic products and as offering suggestions for designs. Individual social settlements have long encouraged and disposed of these foreign handicraft articles; but this seems the first effort to bring them into the main stream of production. There have likewise been associations for fostering native handicraft industries, such as those of Deerfield, Massachusetts, and of the southern mountaineers. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union maintains a shop for artistic handwork, and there are various societies of arts and crafts. The development of occupational therapy in hospitals has led in some cases to the production of articles of artistic merit and selling value. Occupational therapists, or teachers of crafts in hospitals, are dealt with in Chapter V. An Art Center has been incorporated in New York City for the promotion of industrial art, and has the backing of many associations of artists and art craftsmen. It is hoped that similar centers will be established in all the important manufacturing cities.

From many different directions comes a demand which exceeds the supply for designers, craftsmen, and other workers in applied art. There are already many women in the

art occupations, some of them receiving high salaries. Among them are several research experts in textiles and other special art fields and a larger number who are expert craftsmen in jewelry, weaving, bookbinding, and other crafts. A number are in business for themselves. In the future women will undoubtedly have to meet higher professional standards and secure more thorough and prolonged professional training. Besides teaching in art schools, general schools, and vocational schools, there is a prospect of positions as supervisors and instructors in factory schools and of young workers in service.

The American Art Annual, published by the American Federation of Arts, with headquarters in Washington, presents a yearly survey of the range of art activities in this country. At the 1918 meeting of this association, the finding of positions for industrial art workers was discussed. The Art Alliance of America maintains in New York a placement bureau for this purpose, and is probably the best source of information and assistance. Salaries in applied art work are so unstandardized, and are changing so rapidly, that it is unsafe to give any figures. A designer with any training is likely to receive $25 a week to begin with; and $50 a week and up are received by workers of some experience.

CHAPTER XVII

TECHNICAL SERVICES: SCIENCES AND TECHNOLOGIES; PSYCHOLOGY; STATISTICS

THE training acquired in university and college scientific laboratories, especially in bacteriology and other aspects of biology, chemistry, physics, psychology, and geology, and college training in mathematics and statistics have a direct relation to scientific and technical work in a variety of occupations. These subjects are distinctly instrumental in their applications; and this chapter, accordingly, is not so much a discussion of a relatively independent field of professional employment as it is a discussion of the openings for scientifically and technically trained women in a number of fields. It connects closely with the chapters on health services, food and living services, personnel and industrial services, commercial services, library and museum services, and educational services. It bears intimately upon government services. As fast as any field of work develops agencies for investigation and research, it calls for women with one or other of these types of equipment.

Before the war teaching was the major occupation of women trained in the sciences, although they had to meet a strong feeling, especially in high schools, that science departments were a man's province. But for at least ten years before 1914 a small but increasing number of women had been going into public and private health laboratories, federal departments, notably the Department of Agriculture, and in an experimental fashion, into industrial laboratories. When it became evident that the war was to be won to a large extent by scientists and engineers, and the actual and threatened shortage of men in these professions became acute, attention turned to the only other source of supply,

scientifically and technically trained women. It proved to be meager, for the number of really expert scientific women was small; there were practically no women engineers, in spite of an occasional graduate from an engineering school and few women draftsmen. The universities and colleges adapted their scientific training for women to some extent in the direction of war needs. Certain technical schools, such as the Carnegie Institute of Technology and the Case School of Applied Science, offered special courses in the summer and autumn of 1918 to train women as mechanical draftsmen and "engineers of tests" for the Ordnance Department. Others, like Drexel Institute, organized courses for dietitians and "laboratory technicians." Some of the great industrial corporations, like the DuPont de Nemours Company, the General Electric Company, and the Eastman Kodak Company, working on war orders, took groups of young college women into their laboratories, giving them training in service courses in special branches of industrial chemistry, engineering, and optics. Government departments called for women topographical draftsmen and map-makers; the Bureau of Standards made use of women laboratory assistants in chemistry and physics.

While many of these women were released at the end of the war, and while the total number employed has probably been exaggerated, there is no doubt that their war-service accustomed industrial employers and government departments to the idea of women as laboratory and research workers. They are continuing to turn to the colleges and the occupations bureaus for suitable candidates, especially in the fields of public health, industrial chemistry and physics, psychology, and statistics; to some extent in engineering, in so far as it has to do with office and laboratory procedures. They are retaining a number of women war-workers as permanent members of their force.

An editorial article in the Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry,[1] entitled *The Woman Chemist Has Come to Stay,* quotes the following estimate from the chief chemist of the Illinois Steel Company of the women chemists in his laboratory during the war: "They learned

[1] March, 1919.

the work as quickly as any men of like training could have learned it. . . . They were and are careful, conscientious, reliable workers in the field of industrial chemistry, taking their turn at night work cheerfully, and so far as I can learn, contentedly. During the month of July, 1918, there were employed on iron and steel work thirty-one men and seven women. Total number of determinations made . . . on iron and steel by women . . . 15.6 per cent of the total. Per cent of women employed, 18.5—not quite their share; they were learning the work. During the month of October there were thirty-six men and an average of six and a half women . . . Total number of determinations made . . . by women 16 per cent of the total. Percentage of women employed, 15.3. From this it is readily seen that as soon as the women learned the work they carried their share. . . . During the hot weather, when to sleep, for those working at night, was almost impossible, the percentage of women off duty was less than the men. The percentage off duty on account of sickness is not greater than the men. In fact, it has not equaled the men in our particular case, several of our men being on extended sick leave. Requests for days off duty by women . . . are not more than those of men."

In another part of the same journal is a discussion of the over-supply of chemists called forth by an article in a preceding number urging unemployed chemists to return to the colleges and universities for more advanced training and "to utilize their time in further education or even in teaching!" A professor of chemical engineering in a great university sends the following estimate of the value of graduate training in chemistry, which may well be taken to heart by women chemists and indeed by all women in science: "Some four years ago I attempted to arrive at an estimate of the value to the industries of men with graduate training. The estimates were made in various terms by men experienced in the chemical industries. . . . The results finally arrived at were: that a man with one year of graduate training is of approximately double the value of a man having only the bachelor's degree; that with two years of graduate training he is three times as valuable; and

that with the doctor's degree, ordinarily representing three years' graduate training, he is on an average five times as valuable as the man with only the bachelor's degree. Also it was the general opinion that for a given age the salaries paid, beyond that necessary for a bare living . . . were not far from . . . the ratio just mentioned."

The importance of thorough training for women in science can hardly be too much emphasized at present, when as a result of taking on imperfectly and hastily trained women during the war, employers betray a tendency to look upon all women scientific workers as "technicians" and routine assistants rather than as professional workers in the full sense. Not only for their own careers but for the sake of others who may follow, scientific women need to have unimpeachable qualifications, to expect no favors, and to show marked tenacity and courage. They are still pioneers. As a result of the war, however, it seems to be admitted that a woman may fill any purely laboratory position for which she is equipped, even that of director. As yet she is not considered as in line for positions having to do with production, nor for those involving chemical or other scientific engineering. Thoroughly prepared women, while willing to begin at the bottom and to demonstrate their ability, should at the same time be on their guard against being used by employers to get expert work more cheaply done than by men, and should stand firmly for recognition and promotion on their record of work accomplished. There is professional as well as industrial "undercutting." But employers complain that women in laboratories are not always willing to be held accountable for failures as well as for successes.

Material collected in 1920 for a bulletin on *The Woman Chemist*[1] shows salaries of fifteen chemists ranging from $1,450 to over $3,000, with a median salary of $2,000. Of twelve giving the date of taking their present positions, ten have entered upon the work since August, 1917. Eleven out of the fifteen have received their highest degrees since

[1] For the use of this material acknowledgment is due to the Bureau of Vocational Information. For further information, see *The Woman Chemist.* Bulletin No. 4, 1921.

1914. Two have doctor's degrees; five master of science degrees; two master of arts; six bachelor of science or bachelor of arts. No clear correlations between degrees and salaries emerge, although the medians increase slightly with the higher degrees. The highest salary is received by a woman holding the B. S. and M. S. degrees from two well-known western state universities. One Ph. D. at $2,500 is head of the testing and research laboratory of an eastern manufacturing company. She does not state her years of service. Another, who has just received her doctorate, is analytical and research chemist in a yeast company at $1,800. Others in industrial work include research chemists and assistants in electrical, carburundum, and rubber regenerating companies; an analytical and research chemist in a glassware company; a consulting chemist in a jewelers' association, and a chemist in the dyestuffs technical laboratory and dyestuffs sales department of a great chemical industry. Two are in the federal Department of Agriculture, one in the Bureau of Chemistry, the other as a food and nutrition specialist in the States Relations Service in charge of investigations on cereals and baking. One is director of the bureau of foods and drugs of a state board of public health, and has charge of the inspection of dairies, bakeries, and groceries, at a salary of $2,400. Two are in charge of the private laboratories of physicians, one also serving as a hospital clinical pathologist and bacteriologist.[1]

A bacteriologist filling our schedule is in charge of the diagnostic laboratory of a state department of health, her position involving diagnostic work, supervision of two assistant bacteriologists, two laboratory assistants, two clerks, and two office boys. She is a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has done graduate work, and been a college instructor. She selects her assistants, who are college women, and recommends their appointment. In 1918 she received a salary of $2,000, which was higher than

[1] The War Department Committee on Classification of Personnel prepared specifications in 1918 for over fifty kinds of chemists. See O. P. Hopkins. *Wage and Salary Earners in Chemical Industries.* Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry. August 1, 1919.

that paid to her predecessor, a man. A chemist in a safety razor company makes analyses of steel, brass, salts, and plating solutions.

Some of the comments follow:

"For the majority of women straight chemistry will not get them very far. The big thing in chemistry is chemical engineering, and few women would ever be fitted for that work, while routine chemistry would become very monotonous. . . . That would be the field to which most women would be assigned in a manufacturing plant."

"Upon leaving college, the girl who has spent four years specializing in chemistry . . . considers herself as a chemist; but she will find only the most rudimentary positions open to her. She should have discovered, however, along what branches of chemistry her interest lies, and for which great division of work—routine or research—she is best fitted. Many delude themselves upon this point. 'Routine' sounds dull and uninteresting, while 'research' has an adventurous sound. . . . Neither is true. Work in one field is no more fascinating nor more wearying and vexatious than in the other. But . . . different kinds of people are required. The type of mind which will make a success of research is both logical and original. . . . I am more and more impressed with the fact that the girl who wants to beat a man at his own game has to work hard to do it. I do not believe that this is because the man has any objection to women being chemists. I do not believe that men think they are necessarily better chemists than women. I have heard men give many reasons why they do not want women —any woman—in their laboratories. I never heard one mention that he thought they could not do the ordinary work. His objections are usually along the line that a laboratory is a dirty, unattractive place where hard work is done. Its natural inhabitants are men who smoke, and swear when things go wrong, and insist on such natural prerogatives of menfolks. They don't want women around because they will try to reform the place and make a parlor of it. Once such suspicions are at rest, a man is usually ready to give a woman chemist a chance; but the woman who takes such a job must remember that she is an innova-

tion, an experiment. . . . And how do chances for men and women compare? In a broad way, I should say that their chances are equal so far as purely chemical positions go. For a man, success in dealing with chemical problems may mean that he is taken out of the laboratory and put in charge of production in a plant. That is in the nature of the work out of the question for the woman."

"Chemistry is splendid for some women, absolutely hopeless for others. To be a success in chemistry a woman must of course be perfectly honest. You cannot slide or bluff results in an exact science. She must not be afraid of negative results. She should by all means be trained in a good coeducational institution where she will get a good, thorough course in the theories of chemistry and will also be constantly with men and learn their ways of thinking and reasoning, because she will in almost every case have to deal with men entirely when she takes a position. . . . I have found that people who have had the experience of making their living . . . before entering into a permanent position as a chemist are more reasonable and better fitted to deal with others. . . . My work is a wonderful training for any one who would care to go back into teaching and make chemistry a 'liver' subject than it has ever been imagined before. Some day I may, but not yet."

"My position will improve, because soon we are to have another assistant. It seems an extremely advantageous time for women to pursue chemistry. Recently I have heard of many opportunities for women in technical laboratories, whereas two years ago I heard of only two such positions. In my general education my chemistry has proved most helpful directly, mathematics indirectly. I regret that I have been unable to pursue graduate study of chemistry. . . . The employers seem generally to use the method of communicating with the colleges when in need of chemists or with the employment bureau of the Chemists' Club in New York."

"For bacteriological work, a thorough scientific training in biology and chemistry is necessary. A Ph. D. is desirable, more so, I think, than an M. D. degree."

Present scientific and technological opportunities for the

young college graduate are illustrated by reports from Barnard, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, and Vassar Colleges, and the Margaret Morrison Carnegie School of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, as to the occupational distribution of the classes of 1917 and 1918. The five institutions report thirty workers in chemistry; twenty-four in bacteriology, biology, and physiology; eighteen in engineering, drafting, and computing; and six in applied physics. Seventeen chemists held industrial positions, of whom five were released from war industries after the armistice. Three were connected with the Mellon Institute for Industrial Research in Pittsburgh; one did war research on explosives in a university laboratory; three were in hospital or private diagnostic and research health laboratories; five were teachers or laboratory assistants in college departments of chemistry; one was teaching chemistry in a secondary school. Of the eight so-called engineers, four were working on switchboard specifications and problems for the General Electric Company, having been given a special course of training by the company; two were in the Western Electric Company; and two were assistants in the engineering department of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, receiving training in the allied Western Electric Company. It is difficult to tell how much of their work is laboratory testing and research and how much is drafting and computing. It is likewise difficult to distinguish between engineering workers and workers in industrial physics. Of the three reported as draftsmen, two were employed in the offices of the New York Central Railway Company, and one by the United States Bureau of Mines. Of the computers, seven were employed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company or the Western Electric. Of the physicists, four were laboratory assistants in the Western Electric Company; one was in the physical research laboratory of a firm manufacturing tools; two were in the Bureau of Standards of the federal Department of Commerce working on thermal analysis and radio development respectively; one was a lens inspector for the Signal Corps during the war, having received intensive training at the Bausch & Lomb factory and at the Bureau of Standards.

Informal accounts of their work are graphic. A chemist says: "I have begun my career as an organic chemist in the synthetic chemistry department of the ——— Company. . . . Our laboratory is the only one of its kind in the country, being composed entirely of girls with the exception of our director and his assistant. They are from various colleges and universities, such as Chicago, Bryn Mawr, Oberlin, and Vassar. . . . Our products are very valuable, and sold only in small quantities. Most of them have been Germany's exports until now."

Another says: "I am assistant to the chemist of a color works. I take great pleasure in analyzing the chemical compositions of colors and in striking 'laboratory batches.' I recently helped the company to get a big order from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing because I succeeded in matching a sample of purple submitted for making three-cent stamps."

Another reports: "I am working with a dozen fellow chemists in the analytical department of a drug company. . . . We examine physically and chemically, and accept or reject, all materials purchased for manufacturing and all finished products of the company, and considering the fact that we put out 10,000 different preparations, we're busy."

A bacteriologist in charge of the culture laboratory of a great museum of natural history says: "We have a collection of some six hundred organisms of all kinds and varieties, pathogenic and non-pathogenic. Our work is first of all to keep these alive and in pure culture. Then upon request we send transfers of these to accredited schools and colleges and research laboratories. The rest of our work is on a research problem."

A "switchboard engineer" says: "This tremendous corporation has 23,000 employees in these works alone. I work in a rather large office—the Switchboard Sales Department. Our work is both engineering and commercial, and consists principally of drawing specifications for switchboards to control all sorts of electrical apparatus, and then making an estimate on these specifications. There is a wide variation between the different jobs which come into the office, from a proposition for a switchboard to control a small

motor to requests for boards to control large power plants, railway terminals, or the electrical apparatus on a great battleship. . . . So far, the company has been very generous in recognizing, financially and otherwise, any improvement on our part, and I feel that the chances for advancement are certainly as great as in any other line of business for any one who will stay in it."

An engineering assistant in a telephone corporation says: "I plot curves, and I ink drawings, and I index millions of articles about radio-telegraphy and telephony for a card-catalogue, and I translate French articles about mercury arcs and the aidion, and I can use a slide-rule and a comptometer. . . . Three times a week the college girls in our department take a course in engineering at the Western Electric. In this way we are becoming better able to handle problems in telephone engineering and to apply our mathematics in correlation with electricity. About two months ago I was given an assistant to do my computing work."

A physicist says: "I have a position in the physical research laboratory of a hammer manufacturing company, breaking the company's precedent, as they have not had a woman in the laboratory before. I am learning so much (especially how little I know) that I am ashamed to be drawing a salary. My work is never uninteresting, being research."

Another says: "I am working in the engineering department of the National Lamp Works. There are three other college girls doing work here, one from Vassar and two from Smith. . . . The work our section does is planning illumination 'layouts' for buildings of all kinds, street lighting, designing and testing lamps, etc. I have been studying residence lighting—they thought it more suitable for a girl than street lighting."

Still another says: "I am in the Bureau of Standards, where my own particular job is research on insulating materials when subjected to radio frequencies. . . . I have been doing some airplaning lately. We have been working on some landing problems of the air mail service, and I benefit from the experimental part, and go aloft to receive signals from our home field."

Computing work in industries and public utilities is a new opening for college women. But they have long been employed as astronomical computers in the leading observatories of the country, such as the Harvard University Observatory, the United States Naval Observatory at Washington, the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago, and the Lick and Wilson Universities in California. This work requires at least full undergraduate training in astronomy and closely related courses in mathematics. Laboratory work in physics and chemistry is also desirable, and, as in all sciences, a reading knowledge of foreign languages on the technical side. Such work may lead to research positions in observatories, and is an invaluable experience for later teaching in college and university departments of astronomy, if combined with graduate work. Positions either at observatories or as teachers of astronomy are few in number. The science has several aspects—mathematical astronomy, astro-physics, stellar astronomy. Stellar photography is a field in which some women have specialized. Observatory salaries are not high, comparing with those paid college assistants and instructors and ranging from about $1,200 to $1,500 or $1,800. The recent report on proposed reclassification of salaries in the federal civil service in Washington[1] provides six classes of general astronomical worker: astronomical computer; chief astronomical computer; assistant astronomer; associate astronomer; astronomer; and senior astronomer—and five classes of mathematical astronomer: junior, assistant, and associate mathematical astronomer; mathematical and senior mathematical astronomer. Salaries in both groups range from $1,200 to $5,040. Specifications for astronomical computer and associate mathematical astronomer are as follows:

COMPUTER

Duties:

To perform under immediate supervision, routine reductions in astronomy; and to perform related work as required.

Examples: Reducing transit circle, equatorial, prime

[1] *Report of Congressional Joint Commission.* March 12, 1920.

vertical, alt-azimuth, and photographic observations; computing ephemerides and the orbits of asteroids and comets.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation from an institution of recognized standing, with major work in mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, and related subjects; and ability to read scientific French or German, or an equivalent foreign language.

Principal Lines of Promotion

To: Assistant Astronomer, Chief Astronomical Computer.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $1,200, $1,320, $1,440, $1,560, $1,680, $1,800.

ASSOCIATE MATHEMATICAL ASTRONOMER

Duties:

To perform, under general direction, either individually or with subordinates, specialized work in astronomical research which may or may not involve supervisory duties, but does not include the determination of policies; and to perform related work as required.

Examples: Revising tables of the sun, moon, and major planets; making and revising star catalogues; correcting elements of satellite orbits; preparing data for eclipse and longitude expeditions; discussing the work of such expeditions.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing, with major work in mathematics, mechanics, and related subjects, by not less than three years' graduate work, and by at least five years' professional experience in mathematical astronomy; proven ability to conduct or direct research work in mathematical astronomy; ability to read scientific French or German, or an equivalent foreign language; and to prepare for publication, in clear and concise English, manuscripts embodying the results of research work in astronomy.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Assistant Mathematical Astronomer.
To: Mathematical Astronomer.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $3,240, $3,360, $3,480, $3,600, $3,720, $3,840.

Another field of applied science partially at least opened to women by the war is that of geology and the closely allied subjects of geography and map-making. In the past, the amount of field work required has been held to disqualify women, although a few are surmounting that difficulty; and intimate relations with civil and mining engineering have made them peculiarly masculine professions. But the exact knowledge of topographical and geological formations essential to military operations and the recent development of new oil, gas, and coal fields have greatly increased the amount and importance of office and laboratory work. In this country, we are just learning the meaning of geography as a science in the European sense. A few women with college training in geology and geography are being employed in the offices of oil companies and of petroleum and mining engineers. As usual in a new field, they are expected to begin in a clerical or semi-clerical capacity. An expert engineer, who is also professor in a university school of mines, writes as follows: "It is quite true that women who major in geology in college have a vocational opportunity with coal and oil companies and experts in these fields. Also that a knowledge of stenography, typewriting, and also bookkeeping gives a decided advantage in getting a start in such positions. I have been seeking women of this type and have not been able to obtain any. . . . I know of six such workers in Oklahoma oil companies. The nature of the work so far has been to make what are called underground structure maps, using the data reported in the drilling of the wells, or in working on the appraisal of properties or on the rate of depletion in order to establish tax allowance. . . . Let me add some sugges-

tions as to the selection of courses for such a person: physics, chemistry, geology, economics, accounting, stenography, typewriting, *applied* mathematics, graphics, statistics, filing."

Outside of engineering firms and industrial corporations, opportunities are to be found in the federal Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, and possibly the Coast and Geodetic Survey, as well as in various state geological surveys and bureaus of mines. Government service is excellent training either for later industrial work or for teaching in colleges or certain secondary schools.

In general, the specifications of the scientific, technical, and statistical services given in the Reclassification Report will prove illuminating and helpful to women looking forward to work of any of these types and also to those engaged in training them. The subdivisions of each field are notable. The sciences are grouped under the biological science service and the physical science service. The first includes specifications for different classes of agronomists, anthropologists, apiculturists, archeologists, general and soil bacteriologists, aquatic and general biologists, seed botanists, systematic botanists, plant ecologists, entomologists, ethnologists, horticulturists, microanalysts, microbiologists, mycologists, nematologists, ornithologists, parasitologists, insect and plant pathologists, plant physiologists, pomologists, zoölogists! The second includes besides astronomers and geologists, chemists, metallurgists, meteorologists, physicists, and soil scientists. The engineering service includes twenty-three different types of engineer, from aëronautical to topographical.[1] The statistical service is divided into mechanical tabulation, statistical clerical work, and statistical science. In all these services, professional workers are ranked as juniors, assistants, associates, full workers, senior workers, and chiefs or directors. Scientific and technical "aids" need have only a high-school education, and are not ranked as professional. Salaries for junior workers are set at from $1,800 to $2,160; for assistants, from $2,400 to $3,000; for associates, from $3,240 to $3,840; for full workers,

[1] See *Report of Committee of Engineering Council on Classification and Compensation of Engineers* (Pamphlet, 1919).

from $4,140 to $5,040. Salaries for senior workers and for chiefs are determined individually. While this report has not yet been adopted by Congress, it is based on careful study of current practices, and reorganization of government services is likely to follow the lines here laid down.

Under existing conditions there are great variations in both titles and pay in the different departments of the federal government. A number of women have held scientific and technical positions under the government. Since November 5, 1919, all civil service examinations have been open to them, although appointing officers may specify whether they wish a man or a woman. Candidates for professional positions under Civil Service are usually not required to present themselves for examination, but are rated upon sworn statements regarding their education and experience and sometimes upon brief written theses submitted. To be put upon an eligible list by no means involves receiving an appointment; but conditions are becoming more favorable to the appointment of women, and those who are thoroughly equipped will do well to qualify. Present salaries compare with those paid in colleges and schools. During 1919, examinations were announced for junior chemist at a salary ranging from $1,200 to $1,400 a year and requiring college graduation with a major in chemistry; associate chemist at a salary ranging from $1,800 to $2,500 and requiring a Ph.D. degree taken in one of eight specified fields of chemistry; physicist at a salary ranging from $2,000 to $2,800 and requiring a master's degree, with at least three years' work in physics and in mathematics through elementary differential equations; assistant plant pathologist at a salary ranging from $1,620 to $2,040 and requiring college graduation with special courses in plant pathology and a year's experience in research or teaching; research assistant in agricultural geography at a salary ranging from $1,500 to $2,000 and requiring college graduation with special courses in economics or agricultural geography, a reading knowledge of two modern languages, and at least a year in economic, statistical, or geographical research; junior engineer, Grade I. (civil, electrical, mechanical, signal, structural, telegraph and telephone) at a

salary ranging from $1,320 to $1,680 and requiring professional school graduation and a year's experience; assistant engineer of tests, at a *per diem* rate, requiring graduation from a mechanical engineering course with research work on strength of materials, particularly of steels, copper, and their alloys; assistant and associate technologist at salaries ranging from $1,400 to $1,800 and from $2,000 to $2,800 respectively and requiring experience in either rubber, leather, paper, or textile technology and general physics, chemistry, and mathematics; assistant valuation engineer and valuation engineer at salaries ranging from $2,500 to $3,600 and from $3,600 to $4,800 respectively, and requiring ability to estimate the value of mineral, or oil and gas, or timber, and the cost of the utilization and exploitation of such natural resources and the completion of professional courses in engineering, geology, or forestry. Similar openings exist under state and city civil service and in argicultural experiment stations.

Drafting, apart from engineering, architecture, or geology, is a skilled trade or a sub-profession rather than a profession proper. But in one or another of its many forms, it is a useful tool for women of good education who wish to gain a foothold in the technical sides of government service or of industry. Drafting is based on a sound knowledge of mechanical drawing; and draftsmen are of many varieties—aëronautical, architectural, commercial, electrical, mechanical, ship and boat, structural, topographical and hydrographical.[1]

Opportunities for scientifically trained women are increasing in public and private health laboratories with the growth of the public health movement. Chemists, bacteriologists, and pathologists are thus employed. Much of the work is routine testing and analysis, and there is a tendency to use women without advanced scientific training as "laboratory technicians." But some of the state departments of public health, such as that of New York, have been taking on

[1] See *Report on Classification and Compensation of Engineers, Engineering Council* (1919), under sub-professional service; also, *Drafting.* Opportunity Monograph. Federal Board for Vocational Education (1919).

young college women with good preparation in undergraduate science as apprentices in training; and the schools of public health, such as the new School of Hygiene and Public Health of Johns Hopkins University, and the departments at Harvard and Yale, are preparing women for the degrees of bachelor, master, or doctor of public health. There is a difference of opinion as to whether these women should also have a medical degree. For the present, at least, it is probably an advantage in their dealings with physicians. The Johns Hopkins school arranges with the medical school for the conferring of both degrees in five years. It offers six research fellowships with a stipend of $1,000. One or two women doctors have been city health officers, and a woman doctor is first assistant director of the great research laboratories of the New York City Department of Health. She has charge of three of the seven divisions of the Bureau of Laboratories, and has done distinguished bacteriological research. A few women have specialized as anesthetists and roentgenologists. Here, too, the medical degree is necessary for an assured status. An occasional woman has become an expert in medical illustrating and modeling.

In other scientific fields, women hold positions in museums of natural history; in forest products laboratories, such as that at the University of Wisconsin; as seed analysts in large seed companies; as textile analysts in a few mail-order houses and large department stores. One woman at least is food inspector and tester in a great hotel. There are surprisingly few women chemists in the laboratories of food-products companies, but they are being increasingly employed in nutrition laboratories.[1]

With the growing opportunities for women in the sciences and technologies, there are certain considerations to keep in mind: (1) The necessity of mathematics as an adjunct, including a knowledge of calculus and preferably some

[1] See *Vocational Information.* Leland Stanford Junior University Bulletin under *Science and Applied Science. Vocations for Business and Professional Women,* under *Scientific Work.*

training in statistical method. Ability to use the comptometer and the slide-rule is a great advantage; (2) The importance of a scientific reading knowledge of modern languages; (3) The value of command of a related science. In industrial and engineering positions, chemistry, and physics are often needed; in health, food, and nutrition laboratory work, chemistry, bacteriology, and physiology; (4) The desirability for scientific workers in industry, government service, or public health, of an understanding of economic, industrial, and social conditions and problems. Preprofessional courses in these subjects should be taken in college; (5) The fact that if women are to win full professional status in these fields, they must not rest content with intensive courses provided by the industries or agencies themselves, invaluable as these are, but must secure thorough training of a graduate character in the best professional schools available. These are more and more coöperating with industries and other organizations in the giving of field and shop practice.

Facilities for advanced scientific and technological training are open to women in practically all coeducational institutions; but hitherto only a handful have availed themselves of them. In many, it is true, they have not been encouraged, and their subsequent careers have been regarded with indifference. A western school of mines replied to our inquiry: "We have only two women graduates. We have no information with regard to the work they have done." On the other hand, the dean of the College of Civil Engineering of Cornell University writes: "Up to the present time, but one young lady has ever graduated from here—in 1905. At the present time we have three young ladies pursuing our regular four-year course. In my mind there is no doubt but what office work in particular in engineering can be done by women as well as by men if they have a reasonably good training in mathematics." [1]

Women should more largely apply for scientific, indus-

[1] See S. C. R. Mann. *A Study of Engineering Education* (1918), Bulletin No. 11, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. *Vocational Information.* Leland Stanford Junior University Bulletin, under *Engineering.*

trial, and technical fellowships for which they can qualify. Many industries maintain such fellowships at the larger universities; others exist on various foundations. The National Research Council in Washington is awarding fellowships for advanced research, and serves as an information bureau regarding such opportunities and all matters relating to scientific developments and applications. In 1919 the American Association for the Advancement of Science made a grant to a woman for a piece of research on the mortality statistics of college women. The Sarah Berliner Research Fellowship in science of the value of $1,000 is exclusively for women, and is administered by the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. Women should seek membership in appropriate scientific and technical societies.

Positions are commonly secured through the colleges and professional schools and through application to organizations known to favor the employment of women. Occasionally, advertisement in scientific or technical journals brings results. In chemistry, registration with the employment bureau of the Chemists' Club in New York is advisable.

The extraordinary development in recent years of laboratory and observational psychology and its applications in the fields of education, delinquency, health and social services, commerce and industry, advertising and publicity, warrant its inclusion in a chapter devoted to the professional aspects of the sciences and technologies. This development has followed two main lines: the devising of mental tests and ratings of various sorts and the study of the concrete manifestations and bases of human behavior, especially on its abnormal side. The first originated chiefly in the testing of children by the Binet-Simon intelligence scale; the second has a biological background, and represents contributions from both psychologists and psychiatrists, the medical practitioners dealing with mental diseases. These two somewhat unsympathetic groups are finding common ground in a modified Freudian psychology and in a constructive program for mental hygiene. Together they are coming to see

that the psychological problem is not merely the *degree* of mentality, subnormal, normal, and supernormal, but also the *kind* of mentality—emotional and conduct stability, psychopathic trends, and the like. The army mental tests furnished a survey on a nation-wide scale of the distribution of persons of subnormal, average, and superior intelligence;[1] the treatment of "shell-shock" or "war-psychoses," the first large-scale popular demonstration of the principles of modern psychiatry and mental hygiene. The results of both are being applied to many pressing social and economic problems. Some understanding of these movements is coming to be expected of every professional worker, and there is bound to be an increasing demand for workers soundly trained in the principles and techniques of psychology and psychopathology.

Of the various applications of psychology, the mental testing of school children is the oldest, beginning with the negative purpose of removing the feeble-minded from regular classes in which they were only a hindrance and putting them into special classes or institutions,[2] but developing into a positive study of their capacities, and leading to the grouping of children of all grades of intelligence and to special methods for the exceptionally bright as well as for the exceptionally dull. Many city school systems now maintain psychological departments and psychological clinics. The first agency of the kind was established in 1898 by Professor Lightner Witmer of the Department of Psychology of the University of Pennsylvania. In other cities, school children are examined and tested at independent clinics under various auspices—in New York, for instance, at the Neurological Institute and the Cornell Clinic of Psychopathology; in Louisville, Kentucky, in the psychological clinic recently established jointly by the board of education and the federated social agencies. This clinic examines both superior and inferior children for admission to special classes. In some cities clinics are combined with school vocational bureaus,

[1] See C. E. Yoakum and R. M. Yerkes. *Army Mental Tests* (1920). *Mental Hygiene. Passim* 1918—.

[2] See Leta S. Hollingworth. *The Psychology of Subnormal Children* (1920).

as in Cincinnati, where Dr. Helen Bradford Woolley has made notable studies in the vocational psychology of young people. Psychological clinics have also long been maintained at such well-known schools for the feeble-minded as those at Waverley, Massachusetts, and Vineland, New Jersey. A more recent development is the establishment of school clinics in mental hygiene and the instruction of teachers and parents in its principles, as has been done in Baltimore by Dr. C. MacFie Campbell of Johns Hopkins University, now of the Harvard Medical School, and in Worcester by Prof. William T. Burnham of Clark University. The new realization of the importance of the mental and emotional experiences of childhood as determining mental health throughout life make this a field of work that demands extension and continuous study.[1] It is still in its infancy.

Psychologists are also attached to state and city boards and bureaus dealing with juveniles. Ohio has established a juvenile research bureau with a psychological staff. Wisconsin has a psychologist on its state department of education. Child welfare institutions and agencies of every sort are seeking psychological assistance.

A special type of psychological work with minors has been that of the juvenile court and institutions for juvenile delinquents. In this field, Dr. William Healy, long director of the psychological laboratory of the Chicago juvenile court and now director of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, has been a distinguished leader. His work on the juvenile delinquent shows the intimate relations of mental defect and disorder to the whole matter of delinquency.[2] A number of juvenile courts now have psychologists attached to them.

The demonstration through mental tests that mental and physical or chronological age often do not coincide, and that a seeming adult may have a mind of twelve years or less, has led to the application of these tests to delinquents, dependents, and unadjusted adults of all kinds, and especially

[1] See Dr. William A. White. *The Mental Hygiene of Childhood* (1919).

[2] *The Individual Delinquent* (1915); *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct* (1917).

to wayward, border-line, or delinquent women and girls, who are a peculiar menace to society. Psychologists are attached to courts, prisons, and reformatories, to state prison commissions and boards of probation and parole, to protective leagues, social and mental hygiene associations. With adults, as with children, it is coming to be seen clearly that adequate handling of the situation requires the coöperation of the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the mental hygiene or psychiatric social worker.

This new type of social worker is described in Chapter V. As yet, she is more commonly trained in social work than in psychology; but one of the most successful women in this field is a doctor of philosophy in psychology; and sound modern psychological training is likely to become a requisite. Psychiatrists also lack training in psychology, and are consequently too much inclined to consider the abnormal apart from the normal. But plans are now on foot for providing some training in both psychology and psychiatry for all medical students and simple, practical courses in psychology and psychopathology in schools of social work and nursing. Psychologists as well as psychiatrists are attached to the staffs of mental and psychopathic hospitals. In fact, every institution or organization concerned with the care of the sick needs an expert in psychology and mental hygiene, since all forms of disease and injury have their special mental and emotional aspects. This has been recognized by the War Department and the Red Cross, which have employed psychiatric social workers not only with mental cases proper but with other injured soldiers. The Red Cross has sent workers to the Smith School and other schools.

The most recent applications of psychology are in the field of occupations and employment. "Personnel" or "employment" psychology has to do especially with the devising of tests and techniques to determine special aptitudes, training, and fitness for employment and promotion, under the auspices of personnel or employment departments, as described in Chapter XI.[1] In the larger sense, occupational or voca-

[1] See Henry C. Link. *Employment Psychology* (1919). *Personnel System of the U. S. Army.* Two vols. (1919).

tional psychology touches many sides of educational and social work: vocational guidance, vocational education, "labor turnover," and so on. Specific vocational tests are more difficult to devise than "general intelligence" tests, and have not been so satisfactorily worked out. There is a tendency to rely more upon objective "performance" or "trade" tests than upon psychological tests proper.[1] There are still many problems to be dealt with in the psychology of professions and other occupations. But active research is going on in the entire field. With regard to industrial and other occupational maladjustments, hopeful beginnings of investigation have been made under the auspices of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital and the Engineering Foundation. Industrial mental hygiene clinics are advocated. Much more needs to be known regarding both the external conditions and the psychology of occupations before "vocational guidance" can be put on a sound basis. It has been too often a matter of pious hope or of blind acceptance of things as they are industrially.

The applications of psychology to educational problems have long been a matter of theory, if not of practice. The fault has lain largely with the type of psychology offered. The newer psychology is making them effectual and valuable. The uses of psychology in advertising, publicity, and salesmanship have been admirably pointed out and acted upon.[2] The psychologist is coming to be a coöperating or consulting expert in practically all fields of social endeavor. He—or frequently she—assists the teacher, the judge, the doctor, the social worker, the employer, and the employed. "Americanization" work needs psychologists who are specialists in the psychology of racial groups and racial relations. Health centers should include psychological and mental hygiene clinics, thus dissipating the distrust still felt for such clinics when under the auspices of mental hospitals or boards.

Field workers in eugenics, who are trained chiefly at

[1] See Henry C. Link. *Employment Psychology* (1919). *Personnel System of the U. S. Army.* Two vols. (1919).

[2] See Walter Dill Scott, *Psychology of Advertising* (1913). Harry A. Hollingworth. *Advertising and Selling* (1913).

the Eugenics Record Office of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, need a foundation in psychology as well as in zoölogy, since their work consists chiefly in securing family histories and data regarding the inmates of mental hospitals and institutions for the feeble-minded.

The present interest in "mental tests" sometimes leads people to think that the planning and giving of such tests is the only work of the psychologist. It is important to remember that testing is one among many psychological techniques and fields. The person specializing in this work is known as a psychological examiner. A *Report on the Qualifications of Psychological Examiners* has been prepared by a committee of the American Psychological Association,[1] and plans are under way for the certification by the Association of two grades of examiners: (1) those with the Ph.D. degree and (2) those with but one year of graduate work. There is an Association of Clinical Psychologists; and a few women with this training are in independent practice. In so new and so easily exploited a field, there is bound to be a "charlatan fringe," and psychologists themselves, if not the state, are likely to devise some form of regulating such practitioners. Psychiatrists are very wary of the non-medical "psycho-analyst."

No psychologist at this juncture can afford professional training other than the best. Undergraduate courses, even those including laboratory work and training in testing, are sufficient only for routine or subordinate positions. Sometimes a year or so of work of this type enables a young woman to give direction to her graduate study. The woman looking forward to a professional career as a psychologist should plan to secure a doctor's degree from one of the universities which are leaders in this field. In certain types of work, she may find it advantageous also to have a medical degree. Workers intending to specialize in vocational guid-

[1] Psychological Monograph Series (1921). See also J. E. W. Wallin. *The Field of the Clinical Psychologist and the Kind of Training Needed by the Psychological Examiner.* School and Society. April 19, 1919. *Vocational Information.* Leland Stanford Junior University Bulletin, under *Psychological Examiner.*

ance, mental hygiene, social work, personnel work, or teaching should have at least the psychological equipment represented by the master's degree, supplemented by courses in psychiatric social work, employment management, education, and so on. Undergraduate courses in social economy, biology, history, and government are an important pre-professional foundation.

Positions in psychology are at present most commonly secured through the institutions and departments in which a worker has studied. These include teaching and laboratory positions in colleges, and normal schools, which are becoming more numerous and often afford opportunity for further research. Direct application sometimes brings results, if done with knowledge of the field. There are civil service examinations for psychologists in some of the states for positions in state institutions or departments.

Seven psychologists filled our schedules, and certain colleges supplied information regarding graduates of 1917 and 1918 in psychological work. Salaries reported ranged from $1,200 to $3,000 with a median salary of $2,100. Six out of the seven psychologists have the doctor's degree; the other has a master's degree. Two are professors of psychology in universities. One of these has been clinical psychologist in a large hospital, and still gives some time to the work. The other has been director of an experimental psychological laboratory in connection with a reformatory for women, and was attached to the division of psychology of the Surgeon General's Office during the war. Two are connected with city departments of education, one as director of a vocational bureau; the other as assistant director of a department of child study. One is chief psychologist in a large state school for the feeble-minded; one gives mental tests to school children in a state bureau of juvenile research; one is social service director of a state mental hygiene committee, doing special work with children.

Comments are as follows: "Do not consider for a moment a career in psychology without full professional equipment. Be sure that you have the innate capacity for success in a professional career. Take a doctor's degree in psychology. This means three years of training beyond the

B.A. degree. . . . From thirty to forty women consult me each year about entering upon a career in psychology. There are, in general, two discouraging features in these consultations. In the first place, there are always some who are not fitted to enter upon a professional career of any kind. Either they lack ability, are unfortunate in personality, or are past the age for beginning. . . . In the second place, there is an invincible amateurishness in the viewpoint of many, a desire to 'take up' something which can be learned in a year, and which will thereafter give them position and income. Very few seem willing to face real professional training as a *sine quâ non* of a professional career in psychology. They labor under the erroneous impression that there must be some way of obtaining the rewards without paying the price of thorough preparation. This fatal tendency to fall short of what is necessary to success is due largely, in my judgment, to the uncertainty which women feel about choosing between (or possibly combining) marriage and vocation."

"I would advise the highest possible training in psychology, pedagogy, and child hygiene; practical experience in institutions for defectives; conservative use of diagnosis; and keeping in constant touch with new experimental (not applied) findings, as well as with clinical developments."

Two women's colleges report eleven of their graduates of 1917 and 1918 in psychological work. Of these, three are college laboratory assistants; two are in the vocational bureau of a city school system; two are giving psychological tests in hospital clinics; one is psychological assistant in a state children's bureau; one is research worker in a state school for the feeble-minded; one is experimental psychologist in a life insurance company; one is assistant psychologist in a department store.

One worker says: "All last year I was a laboratory assistant at the psychological laboratory of the vocational bureau of the board of education. We tested children for the special classes of the public schools—classes for defectives, for the backward, for the slow in learning to read, and rapidly moving classes for the brilliant. We also did psychological examining for the social agencies and for any

one else who wanted it done. Boys are brought because they play hookey from school; girls because they lose their tempers or like to stay out late. We also examine and try to advise many economic misfits."

Statistical services may be briefly treated, although they are becoming increasingly important in all fields, in industry and commerce, in life insurance, in public utilities, as well as in economics, the sciences, and education. It is becoming fashionable for workers to call themselves "statisticians," and there is need to emphasize the difference between statistical clerks, who make routine tabulations and computations under direction, and statisticians proper. Only the latter are to be considered professional workers, although a woman of good education may profitably serve a "sub-professional" apprenticeship as a statistical clerk, and has an advantage if she is familiar with the operation of tabulating and punching machines. Familiarity with the techniques of "graphics"—the making of graphs and charts —is also valuable.[1]

The Reclassification Report, as has been said, divides government statistical service into (1) mechanical tabulation, (2) statistical clerical work, and (3) statistical science. To illustrate the distinction between clerical and professional statistical work specifications are quoted for senior statistical clerk and for associate statistician.

SENIOR STATISTICAL CLERK (Agriculture, Finance, Transportation).

Duties:

Under supervision, to perform one or more of the following functions: (1) To supervise a small statistical clerical subdivision performing a single process or group of simple related processes, according to general plans and instructions laid down by an official superior; (2) To perform statistical clerical work demanding a knowledge of the subject matter and the exercise of statistical judgment;—and to perform other related work.

[1] See Allan C. Haskell. *How to Make and Use Graphic Charts* (1919). Willard C. Brinton. *Graphic Methods for Presenting Facts* (1914).

Examples: Examining complicated reports, schedules, and other papers to determine their accuracy and to prepare them for tabulation; making, independently, ordinary computations of averages, medians, and rates, including, when necessary, the use of computing machines, verifying tables where the process requires not only checking the accuracy of the copying and compiling of the figures, but their proper selection, combination, and tabulation.

Common Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation from high school; not less than two years' experience in statistical clerical work, or one year's such experience and the completion of an elementary course in statistical methods in an institution of recognized standing; familiarity with adding, computing, and tabulating machines, slide rules, and other labor-saving devices used in statistical clerical work; ability to plan ordinary table forms and to write explanatory notes; accuracy, neatness, rapidity, and mental alertness.

Special Qualifications:

For each class in the group, thorough clerical knowledge of the subject matter to which the statistics involved relate, as indicated by the title of that class.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Junior Statistical Clerk.
To: Principal Statistical Clerk.

Compensation for Classes in Group

Annual: $1,620, $1,680, $1,740, $1,800.

ASSOCIATE STATISTICIAN

Duties:

To direct minor statistical inquiries along lines already established, wherein matters of policy regarding organization and management do not frequently arise or are decided by or on the advice of an administrative superior, and where the technique and methods of analysis have been standardized; under general direction, to supervise the conduct of a minor investigation or part of a major

investigation, and to originate and suggest to administrative superiors plans of organization, management, technique, and methods of analysis; to carry on, independently, or with assistants, statistical research not demanding at the outset broad and intensive knowledge of the subject or related subjects; and to perform related work as required.

Examples: Under general direction, supervising the regular collection and tabulation of statistics, and analyzing the results thereof relating to union wages, wholesale prices, or to the production of cotton, truck, or other special crops; planning and advising in respect to, and analyzing the results of censuses of important industries, such as iron and steel, or textiles; preparing statistical memoranda or reports or sections or chapters in important statistical publications involving thorough individual research.

Qualifications:

Training equivalent to that represented by graduation with a degree from an institution of recognized standing, and by at least three years' graduate study in the field of economics, sociology, political science, statistics, mathematics, or other related subjects; and either not less than two years' experience in statistics or related social sciences or success in independent original statistical, economic, or sociological research, as shown by writings and publications.

Principal Lines of Promotion

From: Assistant Statistician.
To: Statistician.

Compensation for Class

Annual: $3,240, $3,360, $3,480, $3,600, $3,720, $3,840.

Advanced training in statistics is more and more in terms of special fields—vital statistics, educational statistics, social statistics, economic and industrial statistics.[1] Even the ele-

[1] See Melvin T. Copeland. *Business Statistics* (1917). J. George Frederick. *Business Research and Statistics* (1920). Horace Secrist. *An Introduction to Statistics* (1919) and *Readings and Problems in Statistical Methods* (1920).

mentary college courses, usually given under the departments of economics and mathematics, while they give a survey of all types of data which may be treated statistically, tend to assign statistical problems to students in the field of their major subjects. Opportunities for field work and apprentice work are beginning to be found in some of the great insurance, public utility, and other commercial and industrial organizations. The American Statistical Association is the professional society. Positions are secured through civil-service examinations, through bureaus of occupations, or through direct application. The true statistician, as distinct from the statistical clerk, is problem-minded as well as fact-minded, capable of planning investigations, devising effective tabulations, and interpreting results. He belongs to professional associations, and publishes statistical articles.

Advance information regarding eleven women engaged wholly or partly in statistical work, received from the Bureau of Vocational Information,[1] shows a salary range of from $1,400 to $5,000, with a median salary of $2,400. Only one salary reported is below $2,000. Of these women, one has a doctor's degree in economics and sociology; two have the master's degree; four have the bachelor's degree with special professional training of at least a year; two are without degrees, but have taken courses at a normal school, a university, and a college of law respectively. Three are employed by the federal government, of whom one is head of a division in the Bureau of Internal Revenue; one is in the Bureau of the Census, and one is in the Port and Zone Transportation Office in New York. Three are with statistical and research organizations; one is with a philanthropic foundation; one is a statistical and economic research worker for the Young Women's Christian Association, one is head of the department of statistics and investigation of an advertising company, one is with a silk manufacturing company, one assistant in the safety engineering department of a great chemical company, one is head of the research department of a great labor union. Several receiving the highest salaries had important statistical ex-

[1] See *Statistical Work for Women.* Bulletin No. 2 (1921).

perience during the war with the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, and the Food Administration. One has done responsible work for the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Several say that women receive as much as fifty per cent lower salaries than men, and are seldom employed in executive positions. One says that the best positions are to be found under the government or "on the Street." One advises statisticians to do a certain amount of their own tabulating in order to keep in personal touch with the data. Statisticians are frequently employed on a "piece-work" basis, in connection with surveys and other special investigations.

Three women statisticians filling our schedules in 1918 and 1919 reported salaries of $1,500, $1,800, and $2,400. One is statistician for a national medical and health organization; one is administrative assistant to a statistical executive in the Shipping Board; one was chief of the section on war industries abroad of the War Industries Board, and assisted in preparing a report on international price comparisons, part of a history of prices during the war. Two are college graduates, one with a master's degree and one with a secretarial course at Simmons College; one has had special university courses in statistics. None of them is much over thirty.

One says: "It would seem to me that a year's statistical work in government service is invaluable in learning sources and methods. I believe that a woman will advance farthest if she decides in what field she will apply her statistical knowledge, and does not consider statistics as ends in themselves."

Another says: "My chief prefers women to men in statistical work, other than in important executive positions. I should advise women to take as much training as possible, of course, to have a liking for work and a willingness to work until all hours. A letter from an influential college instructor carries more weight than college credits, and a recommendation from a satisfied employer is worth any number of courses in training. Women are not a good investment. They are too apt to marry."

CHAPTER XVIII

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM SERVICES

LIBRARIES and museums have, broadly speaking, a common purpose: the procuring, housing, arranging, and rendering accessible of materials for the information, æsthetic satisfaction, or recreation of the community or some of its component groups. Both deal with spatial objects, and have developed techniques of purchase, storage, classification, and identification. Both are giving increased attention to methods of exhibition and instruction. While the library is far in advance of the museum in the active distribution and circulation of its collections among the people, the museum is moving in this direction as far as the nature of museum objects permits. Both institutions are fundamentally educational, and in the most enlightened instances are close students of their publics, allying themselves with other community agencies of an educational character and making active efforts to reach and serve groups of different ages, races, occupations, and interests. They are thus centers of educational coöperation and publicity, and perform a social service the importance of which we are only coming to realize.

Compared with the learned professions and with teaching, librarianship is a young profession, dating back not more than thirty years. Like teaching it suffers from containing within its ranks many untrained or partially trained workers whose presence blurs professional standards and lowers the whole scale of professional salaries. There is an active movement among librarians at present looking to some system of professional standardization and certification. On the other hand, like most occupations that have struggled to achieve professional status, librarianship has been not un-

fairly accused of a certain stiffness and overemphasis of mere techniques to the neglect of more fundamental professional characteristics.[1] This criticism has already an archaic ante-bellum sound. What the War Service Committee of the American Library Association did for our soldiers and sailors at home and overseas, in cantonments and rest areas, on transports and on warships, is a noble record. What it did for the library profession in the way of increased flexibility and simplifying of methods and understanding of American young people and hearty community coöperation for definite ends, only the coming years will reveal. Since the end of the war, the Association has been conducting an active campaign to recruit young men and young women for librarianship, to raise salary standards, and to extend free public library facilities to the sixty million Americans which it estimates are now without them.

In spite of their inadequacy, however, libraries are so widely diffused throughout the United States that librarianship, like teaching, may be considered a "constant" rather than a "variable" occupation, to use the terms of Dr. Leonard P. Ayres.[2] Like teaching also, it is actually or practically a form of public service, since libraries are democratic institutions serving disinterestedly and impartially all elements in the community. Thirty-seven states have library commissions or state libraries with extension arrangements, to bring library facilities to country communities and to maintain common standards. These bodies have formed a League of Library Commissions. California and Indiana have especially good systems of county libraries. A banker of New York City has recently made a gift of eleven library buildings with a yearly income of a thousand dollars each on condition of an equal sum raised by taxation, for rural districts in northern New York. The new interest in rural problems makes the country library an institution of strategic importance, co-

[1] See John Cotton Dana. *The Changing Character of Libraries.* Atlantic Monthly. April, 1918.

[2] *Constant and Variable Occupations* in Bloomfield's *Readings in Vocational Guidance* (1914).

operating with the schools, the county farm bureaus, the agencies for rural health, and so on. Hitherto the salaries paid have been too small for such libraries to command professional librarians; before long the state may see its way to supplementing local library funds. Motor vans are making a traveling library service possible.[1]

The Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, the state professional examining and licensing board, adopted in 1918 a system of grading and certifying high school librarians on principles analogous to those used with respect to teachers. The New York Library Association has drafted a plan for extending this system of standardization and certification to public librarians in places with a population of 3,000 or over. It provides for four grades of certificate—life, five-year, three-year, and two-year, valid in communities of different sizes, and makes specific requirements of general education, library training, and library experience. Various other states and the American Library Association have long been urging some such plan.

Libraries may be classified as public, institutional, special, and private. There are a few coöperative libraries, open only to members. The great majority are public, controlled by boards of trustees and supported wholly or partially by taxation. The tendency among benevolent citizens to present communities with expensive library buildings without funds for their maintenance and operation is fortunately giving way to the realization that the best library is the one most actively administered and most actively supported by the community. Librarians are likely in the near future to follow the lead of teachers in asking for representation upon boards of library control. Institutional libraries are no longer limited to universities, colleges, and professional schools. The high school library is a recent growth full of vigor and of special appeal to librarians qualified to deal with growing boys and girls. Modern hospitals for physical and mental diseases recognize the library as of definite therapeutic value; and there is a special association of hospital librarians. Other institutions—prisons, reformatories,

[1] See Wallace Meyer. *Setting Books in Motion.* Survey, May 20, 1920.

homes, settlements, maintain libraries as a necessary part of their equipment.[1]

The development of special libraries within comparatively recent years has been amazing, and has been greatly accelerated by the war. There is a Special Libraries Association with an organ of its own, affiliated with the American Library Association. The older institutions of this type are the professional and society libraries, such as those of law, medicine, theology, genealogy, history. More recent are technological libraries, social service libraries, libraries of art, architecture, and music, libraries of agriculture, libraries of legislative and municipal reference, libraries of government departments. A still more recent development is the library of the industrial or commercial firm or corporation. There are bank libraries, public utility libraries, insurance libraries, libraries in industrial plants, libraries in department stores. These are technical or service libraries, and include not so much books as periodicals, reports, catalogues, pamphlets, bulletins, newspaper clippings, plans, blue-prints, photographs, graphs and charts, sometimes even samples and models. They may even include motion-picture films and gramophone records. They are carried on in close relations with research and publicity departments, and are filing and clipping services as well as libraries in the more usual sense. There is a growing number of independent information services or bureaus of this sort supplying statistical, financial, industrial, and trade information in various fields. There is also a group of industrial or commercial research bureaus. Women librarians attracted to a special field or eager to learn of the world of affairs from the inside find good opportunities in special library work. But for the most part they need some antecedent experience in a general library and some acquaintance with the subject matter of the field they wish to enter.

The growth of large fortunes in the United States has led to the collection of many fine private libraries, frequently along some special line of interest. Some of these

[1] See F. R. Curtis. *The Libraries of the American State and National Institutions for Defectives, Dependents, and Delinquents.* University of Minnesota (1918).

contain rare manuscripts and early printed books, and even shade into collections of the smaller art objects. The most famous of these libraries is that collected by the senior J. Pierpont Morgan. In some cases professional librarians are in charge, and assist in adding to the collections. In other cases they are called in to prepare special catalogues. Such librarians must be bibliographical experts and bibliophiles. Positions of this sort are exceptional, and have their limitations as well as their advantages. But an assistantship in a private library, if the opportunity offered, might be invaluable as training, even if it did not appeal as a permanent career.

During the war many professional librarians were drafted into the service of government departments and of industries working on government contracts, to install and direct large filing systems. Salaries paid were markedly higher than in library work; and the combined appeals of patriotism and the pocketbook led to a serious shortage of librarians. Many employers prefer women with library training as file managers or head file clerks; and the distinction between a business librarian and a filing expert is in practice often difficult to make. But librarianship and filing seem to have certain techniques in common rather than any identity of subject matter and interest. The librarian proper is drawn toward the profession because of a genuine interest in books and in what books stand for in human life. The mechanics of their arrangement and distribution are for him or her only the means to an end. In the earlier stages of the evolution of modern business filing, librarians were the only workers with a technique that could be easily adapted to the new requirements. But to-day there are filing experts; there are good filing schools and courses; and the makers of office and filing equipment are constantly studying these matters and putting out books of instruction and advice. A recent excellent booklet of this sort, issued by the Library Bureau, is entitled: *Filing as a Profession for Women;* and there is at least one periodical devoted to the discussion of filing questions. Whatever its present claims to the title of a profession, we must admit that filing was only a foster child of librarianship, and properly belongs with

the rapidly enlarging group of commercial techniques and professions. This stand was unequivocally taken in 1918 by the Association of American Library Schools, after a committee had investigated the requirements of indexing and filing in government offices. It was voted that indexing and filing are not library work, and that special courses to train workers for such positions should not be given during the summer sessions of library schools, even in war-time. It is nevertheless true that the war-time demand upon librarians for these services has had important results in defining the standards of the profession and in raising library salaries at least toward an adequate professional level.

Library workers are easily grouped as administrative and executive experts, as non-administrative experts, and as service-workers.[1] The term "apprentice" in this profession is limited to a worker receiving training in a large library rather than at a library school. Such apprentice training prepares for work in the given library better than it does for broader and more genuinely professional librarianship. On the other hand, the importance of supervised practice as a part of training is increasingly recognized in this as in other professions; and a year as a library "interne" may soon be considered a requisite part of a library course. Too many library school graduates have been turned loose upon the smaller libraries better equipped to deal with catalogues than with people.

Library administrators and executives include directors, "head librarians," as they are sometimes called, assistant directors, and those in charge of the several departments of a large library: heads of the catalogue, reference, and circulation departments, of the children's, art, medical, technological departments, and so on. They are experienced professional workers who plan policies, prepare budgets, select and supervise their staffs, and decide upon the choice and purchase of books and other equipment, all under the final authority of the library board. Most library directors hold periodic staff meetings. In this group fall also librarians of branch city libraries and traveling organizers and supervisors sent out by state library commissions. The non-ad-

[1] See specifications of Massachusetts Librarian Group, pp. 49-52.

ministrative group includes expert cataloguers and buyers, specialists in rare books, in art, music, work with the blind, with foreigners, with children. Here, too, belong story-tellers for children, preparers of exhibits, and writers of special library bulletins, all workers having to do with the instructional and publicity side of the library. Service-workers include the younger librarians who are doing library work of one kind and another under supervision. They are frequently "rotated" through the different departments to give them an understanding of the organization as a whole. In small libraries, of course, one or two people may perform all these various duties. There is much to be said for general experience in a library of this size. But every librarian should in addition become a specialist, either in some one library process or in the reading needs of some one group in the community.

The librarian's work is often compared with the teacher's, and her longer hours, shorter vacations and frequently lower salary are dwelt upon. On the other hand, her responsibilities are less concentrated and more diversified. She is under no such strain as that of the classroom; she comes into pleasant and friendly relations with all types and groups in the community, old and young; she has many small chances and some large ones to show quick-wittedness and ingenuity; she works with congenial people in attractive surroundings and in intimate contact with books and ideas. For those who care for both books and people, there is a steady satisfaction in bringing the two together. The disadvantages in the way of salary are on the road to correction. For librarians whose interests are chiefly scholarly and academic, there are positions in college and school libraries; for those who prefer the technical rather than the human sides of library work, there are positions as cataloguers and expert tracers and buyers of books and other library materials.

Full professional training for librarianship is increasingly secured through the recognized library schools, although certain public and university libraries maintain apprentice classes. Eleven schools make up the Association of American Library Schools. Two, the New York State Library

School at Albany and more recently the University of Illinois Library School, require a college degree for admission; one, the Department of Library Science of Simmons College, combines library training with a four years' college course. The other schools require a good general education with a reading knowledge of modern languages, and prefer an antecedent college course. The ordinary course is one or two years in length. It is gaining in flexibility and in contact with actual library practices and problems. There is still much to be learned in the way of library psychology, both urban and rural. A young woman considering library work as a profession will do well to serve as a student assistant in her college library and as an apprentice or assistant in some public library during a summer vacation or two of her undergraduate course.

Graduates of library schools usually secure their first positions at least through these schools. Government and sometimes public library positions are filled through civil-service examinations. Employers of special and business librarians sometimes turn to professional employment bureaus. In the newer types of library work direct application is often successful; but is somewhat wasteful of time and effort.

Librarianship is predominantly a salaried profession. A few expert librarians, cataloguers, and bibliographers have succeeded as consultants and library agents. Librarians are employed as cataloguers and indexers by such organizations as the American Library Association, and the H. W. Wilson Company. There are a few in library journalism and advertising.

The war shortage of librarians brought the matter of low salaries to a crisis. A circular letter sent out in April, 1918, to library trustees and librarians by the Association of American Library Schools stated that during 1917 19 per cent of the reference staff and 27 per cent of the circulation staff of the New York Public Library resigned to accept better paid positions, with similar losses in Brooklyn, Cleveland and elsewhere. "The graduates of the Pratt Institute Library School, class of 1917, who have gone into library work, are getting an average salary of $845; those

who are in government and business positions are getting an average of $1,177." Recent figures from the New York State Library School show that salaries for professional librarians have risen markedly during the past three years. For the four years, 1913-1916, the average salary for those taking positions at the end of their first year's training was $830; for the three following years, 1917-1919, it was $891, $962, $1,020, respectively. Two-year students at completion of the course received during 1913-1916 an average initial salary of $996. The average salary for the three following years has been $1,131, $1,220, $1,341.

Vocations for Business and Professional Women gives a salary range for all grades and types of librarians of $720—$3,000.[1] In individual instances salaries are much higher than this. The woman director of one of the best city public libraries in the country is said to receive a salary of $8,000. With the present cost of living no graduate of a standard library school should receive less than $1,000 in the country and $1,200 in the city. If she is, in addition, a college graduate, the figures should be $1,200 and $1,400. Salaries of the fourteen librarians filling our schedules in 1918 and 1919 ranged from $1,100 to $2,400, with a median of $1,500. Eight of these women are college graduates; four have had partial college courses; seven are graduates of library schools; two have had apprentice courses in large university libraries. The highest salaries were those of the director of a middle-western public library, the librarian and registrar of a war-emergency government service-school, an educational and editorial expert in one of the most progressive public libraries of the east. Salaries of $2,000 and

[1] The Reclassification Report gives specifications for different classes of librarian in the Library of Congress, the District of Columbia Public Library and high school libraries, and Departmental Libraries. Salaries proposed range from $1,200 to $4,000, not including the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Congress or the Public Librarian. Salaries of junior library assistants are from $1,320 to $1,550; of assistants, from $1,560 to $1,920; of senior assistants and cataloguers and classifiers, from $1,980 to $2,340; of high school librarians, $1,200 to $1,500; of children's librarian, public library, from $1,620 to $1,800; of administrative librarian, departmental library, from $2,520 to $2,880; of chiefs of divisions, Library of Congress, $3,000 to $4,000.

over were received by an assistant in a government department library and the librarian of the chemical library of a great chemical and explosives industry. Salaries of $1,500 and over were received by the assistant librarian of a great eastern art museum, and by the librarians of a medical and social organization of national scope and a national bureau concerned with social insurance. Salaries between $1,100 and $1,500 were received by a supervisor of cataloguers in a metropolitan public library of the East, by the librarian and editorial supervisor of a middle-western school of social work, by the librarian of an eastern organization for the economic and vocational advancement of women, by a custodian of rare books in a middle-western state university, by the head of the art department of a famous middle-western public library, by the medical and general librarian of an endowed mental hospital. Some of these salaries have no doubt been advanced since they were reported. The list of positions shows the variety of work in the profession.

Some of the comments and suggestions of these women may be quoted: "Maintain as wide an acquaintance as possible with members of the same profession. Take as active a part as possible in the work of professional organizations, such as the American Library Association, the Special Libraries Association."

"In advising women entering library work, I'd begin when they were in college, and advise them to take all the languages, history, and literature they could, though nothing comes amiss. Then they ought to have a year's experience in a library and finally a course in a good library school."

"Obtain a good general education, some business experience, library school training, and experience with people."

"Have a college degree, thorough training in languages and history of art. Love books, and be ready and willing to do detail and routine work."

"Emphasize always the community value of the library. Be sure to realize the ideals and vision of the work before coming into it; otherwise one might be submerged by its

drudgery and routine. In this case it would be impossible to succeed."

"I would advise women librarians not to enter government service if they must go on the 'statutory roll' until some standardization of salaries and promotion systems is adopted."

The large majority of librarians are women, but men hold most important administrative posts.

Museum work is a more recently developed and a more restricted profession for women than librarianship. Professional training, positions, and salaries are all far less standardized. It is, however, expanding and gaining definition under the influence of the newer conception of the museum as a social and educational agency comparable with the library. The old custodial idea of the museum as an august and seldom visited repository is rapidly vanishing, although it is still held by some conservative boards of museum trustees. Work in the modern type of museum appeals strongly to women who combine equipment in art, science, ethnology, industry, and the like, with interest in the social and psychological uses of collections illustrating these subject matters.

Museums are broadly of two types, museums of art and museums of science and natural history. In smaller places the same building may house both types. Ethnological collections are increasing in importance, and have both scientific and artistic aspects. There are likewise commercial and industrial, historical, safety-appliance, social and civic museums. These last are often distinguished from exhibitions only by their more permanent character. They frequently originate through the preservation of collections assembled for exhibition purposes. Thus the Philadelphia Commercial Museum grew out of the Centennial Exposition of 1876; the Field Columbian Museum of Natural History in Chicago out of the World's Fair of 1893. The greatest art museum of the country is the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; the greatest scientific museum is the New York American Museum of Natural History. But Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, Chicago, Baltimore, and Buffalo have famous art museums; and good museums

of lesser reputation exist in many other cities, and are increasing in number. The great government museums in Washington contain many unrivaled scientific and ethnological collections; and there are some important state historical and scientific museums.

Museum workers include in the administrative group directors, curators, heads of departments, and their assistants; in the group of non-administrative experts, specialists in charge of the collection, preparation, exhibition, study, and description of museum objects of various sorts; in the instructional group, museum instructors, "docents," story tellers, preparers of bulletins, leaflets, study and reading lists, newspaper notices, organizers of special exhibits within the museum and of traveling exhibits to be sent to schools or to other communities. Women are doing practically all these types of museum work, although most of those in administrative positions are assistants.[1] The director, however, of the Albright Art Gallery in Buffalo is a woman. The work itself is a valuable and unique form of training. Through it a few women have become recognized experts in textiles, design, the appraisal, collection and identification of art objects, and in certain scientific and ethnological fields. They write for technical, art, archeological, and scientific journals; they prepare catalogues of special collections; they are even foreign buyers, a field tragically expanded through the dire blows to populations and property inflicted by the war. Only a few intrepid women have been field collectors of scientific materials. Art museum experience furnishes an admirable background for some forms of interior decorating, for the designing of settings and costumes for plays, pageants, and motion pictures, for directing exhibits, even for certain types of display advertising.

There are no recognized schools of museum training other than museums themselves here and abroad, the various foreign schools and institutes of art and archeology, and the graduate departments of universities, especially those of art, archeology, anthropology and ethnology, and the various natural sciences. The intimate relations between great

[1] See Margaret T. Jackson. *The Museum* (1917).

European museums, higher schools of industrial art, and the artistic industries are only beginning in this country, although there are likely to be marked developments within the next few years. The Metropolitan Museum has recently appointed an associate in industrial arts "whose specific business it is to help the manufacturer, dealer, designer, artisan, or manual craftsman in taking advantage of the privileges offered by the Museum." The National Society for Vocational Education is undertaking a survey of all opportunities in the United States for training in the industrial arts.[1] Some coöperative arrangements for training have existed between Teachers College of Columbia University and the Metropolitan Museum; and several museums have undertaken somewhat experimentally the training of qualified young women as docents or instructors. But for the most part they look to the departments of universities for the comparatively few highly trained beginners that they require.

From this it follows that such positions are most frequently secured through the professors with whom a woman has studied. Direct application must be backed by their recommendations. The American Association of Museums, however, acts as a clearing-house of information with reference to both positions and workers; and is performing a valuable service in developing professional group spirit and professional standards of preparation and compensation. But the very nature of museum work tends to make its conditions and its practitioners individual and highly specialized.

Salaries, in consequence, are unstandardized and frequently even lower than those of librarians and teachers, although professional requirements are higher. In many cases the chance to work in a special museum is so highly valued that an unduly low salary is accepted. Salaries of seventeen museum workers filling our schedules ranged in 1918 from $600 to $2,400, with a median salary of $1,060. These workers represented museums of almost every size and type. As a group they were older than the library

[1] See Florence Levy. *Art Education: An Investigation of the Training Available in New York City for Artists and Artisans* (Pamphlet, 1917).

group, including four women over fifty, four between forty and fifty, and only three graduating since 1910. This reflects to some extent the survival of the custodial type of museum worker, although four of the older women were college graduates. In all, eleven of the seventeen were college women. Three had had considerable graduate work, and one was a doctor of philosophy in geology and paleontology. One was a graduate of Simmons College in library science; another had had a year's apprenticeship in a large city library. An instructor in an art museum had studied painting in a famous Paris academy and bookbinding at the Doves bindery in London; another instructor had made eleven trips to foreign countries, including two to Asia and one around the world. The assistant director of a large western art museum after leaving college studied at the American School for Classical Studies in Rome and in the museums of Germany, England, France, and Italy under masters of the profession. She served as a volunteer assistant in Berlin, and has command of French, German, Italian, Latin, and Greek. There was only one salary of $2,400, received by the director of an eastern children's museum. The assistant director of a western art museum and a lecturer and docent in the fine-arts department and library school of a large endowed institute received $1,800; the assistant curator of a children's museum, $1,380; the director of a small New England museum of natural history, an instructor in a great middle-western art museum, and an assistant in a great eastern scientific museum, $1,200. Another assistant in this museum received $1,060. The director of an art gallery in a small eastern city, the head of the educational department of a well-known New England art museum, and the assistant to the curator in the public park museum of an eastern city received $1,000; the curator of a small state historical museum, the curator of books and public instruction in the natural history museum of a southern city, and the assistant in a children's museum $900. Below this fall an assistant in a Pacific coast ethnological museum and the registrar in the public museum of an eastern industrial city.

The varieties of work performed in these positions can

be most aptly described through quotations from our schedules. The assistant director of an art museum says: "I assist the director in everything and take charge during his absence; edit bulletin, act as registrar and dean of the art school; accession all works of art; supervise cataloguing; arrange for transit of exhibitions; hang exhibitions; prepare material for catalogue, etc."

An instructor writes: "As head of the educational department, I am required to supervise work with children, which includes drawing and modeling and a weekly story hour, with a yearly attendance of 7,000 children. Two paid assistants (one with college training) and several volunteer assistants help with this work. Secondly, I give talks on art, with or without stereopticon, to school classes, clubs, parent-teacher associations, church societies, etc. These are given without fee. Thirdly, I have supervision of the loan department, which includes photographs and lantern slides. Aid in selection and preparation of explanatory notes are part of my work. Fourthly, frequent articles on new acquisitions or on museum work for newspapers or the *Museum Bulletin* are asked for by the director. . . . This museum was a pioneer in work done directly with child visitors." In 1918 this worker received only $1,000 for these diverse services. She is not a college graduate.

The curator of a small museum of natural history writes: "I receive and install material, make special exhibits, conduct lecture courses, prepare school-loan collections, assemble illustrative material for classes from the schools, generally foster the affairs of the museum."

The assistant curator of a children's museum writes: "I give public lectures daily; teach wireless telegraphy; assist boys with electrical experiments; do all of the photographic work of the museum."

A scientific assistant in a department of a great natural history museum writes: "I accession all acquisitions in the department; catalogue; take care of collections; do research pertaining to the collections; make identifications; and compile bibliographies."

An assistant in geology and paleontology in the same museum writes: "I carve plaster models of shells; identify and

classify fossils; write exhibition labels; plan exhibits, etc."

Some of the comments on museum policy are worth quoting. "The director has made one of the most active small museums in the country out of a dead college collection of stuffed animals, and is producing a maximum of efficiency on a minimum of money."

"The director is in line with all new and approved methods, experiments, and discussions, and expects his staff to be."

"Our policies are conservative, because a board of wealthy business men are not sensitive to the importance of progressive policies in the education of young children."

"It is very difficult for a museum to be really progressive because of the lack of competent and well-trained workers."

Advice to prospective workers is as follows: An art museum instructor writes: "It is useless work without travel in Europe and many years of research."

Another writes: "Get training ahead of time. Be willing to work hard for experience and willing to take responsibility regularly and in an emergency."

A scientific assistant writes: "Do not enter into it without an understanding of what your work will be. Come as a specialist if possible. Take a purely business attitude toward the salary proposition, and take care not to get into a rut. It can easily be done in scientific pursuits—speaking for women. Men come as scientific specialists and therefore demand more. They will not do routine work and women scientists have to. As routine workers your work does not speak loudly, and therefore is not paid for as the purely scientific work."

One of the foremost women art museum experts in the country writes: "Learn all you can; travel much; use your eyes and ears carefully; be adaptable; go into the work for the love of it, not for the money or advantages in it. Don't hesitate to take volunteer positions first, and be prepared to spend years in 'breaking into' any museum position."

An art museum curator writes: "Visit the best museums; study the arrangement of exhibits from all standpoints, especially the artistic. Show-windows in the best stores are good guides sometimes."

Another writes: "Make your galleries valuable to the community; make all visitors feel that you are personally interested in their getting the most out of their visits. Secure frequent and excellent exhibitions."

CHAPTER XIX

TEACHING AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

ALTHOUGH teaching was the pioneer profession for women, and continues to make large demands upon their services, it has been purposely placed at the end of our survey of the professions, with no intention of minimizing its fundamental importance but in order to show the influence upon it of recent professional movements and to help in determining its present position and prospects.

For the past ten years teaching has been making a diminishing appeal to professional women, partly on account of the opening to them of other professions, partly on account of conditions in teaching itself. This turning away from teaching was greatly accelerated by the war, and the country is facing to-day a critical shortage of teachers of every grade and even more serious prospects for the future unless teachers of the highest type can be recruited in sufficient numbers. Fortunately, the very seriousness of the situation and the great national audit of our educational resources and limitations made through the findings of the draft and the war-time demands for expert workers of all sorts have given us a new and vivid sense of the fact that education is a basic national obligation and teaching the most essential and "constant" form of public service. In spite of present discouragements, we are really on the threshold of the most constructive period in education that this country has ever known; and women need to consider more carefully than ever before their professional opportunities and responsibilities with respect to teaching and other educational services. The profession as a whole is taking stock of itself and recognizing how far in many respects it falls below professional standards. It is comparing itself with other professions and learning the meaning of their increasing self-direction and increasing educational

requirements and applications. All along the line, educational institutions and the occupations are regarding each other with a new respect and beginning to recognize that they are distinct but supplementary aspects of a reciprocal process. The old contest between liberal and vocational education is coming to seem obsolete in the light of a better educational and social psychology. The changing attitude of the colleges is described in Chapter XXI. In all this new educational thinking the central emphasis is placed upon the teacher and upon the absolute necessity of adequate professional training. The untrained teacher, whether high school or college graduate, is no longer looked upon as in the full sense a professional worker.

The present chapter can only outline in a broad way against the background of the other professions some of the opportunities, advantages, and disadvantages offered to women by teaching and other forms of educational service. It cannot be said too emphatically that women of high professional standing are nowhere needed more acutely than in every part of the teaching field. College women can no longer limit their interest to high schools, private secondary schools, normal schools, and colleges.[1] They are needed in elementary schools, in vocational schools, in special schools and classes, not only as teachers but as supervisors, principals, and superintendents. They are needed as visiting teachers, as vocational counselors, as teachers of foreigners, as psychological examiners of school children, as "educational directors" in industries and in department stores; in Young Women's Christian Associations, in Girl Scout organizations, and other clubs of girls and women, in women's trade unions. They are needed as executive secretaries of public education associations, parent-teacher associations, educational leagues, boards, and commissions of all kinds. They are needed in educational investigation and research: to make school surveys and prepare school exhibits; to collect and interpret educational statistics; to study problems of curriculum and teaching, classroom performance tests, physical and mental tests and measurements;

[1] See Frank E. Spaulding. *Do College Women Believe in Education?* Vassar and Smith Quarterlies. November, 1920.

standardizations along many lines.[1] Education and right teaching are back of and permeate every type of organized group effort.

There is something bracing to self-respect about belonging to a profession supported largely through public taxation and serving the community on the side of its normal growth, not on the side of its lapses and breakdowns. Among the rights upon which modern society depends and which every democratic society must guarantee to its members—the right to truth, the right to justice, the right to health, the right to work, the right to leisure—the right to truth, for the transmission and enlargement of which the teaching profession is primarily responsible, is surely the most fundamental. Upon it depend all the other rights and the maintenance of the social order itself. In a large sense, all professions are educational as having to do with the progressive reconstruction of society, and only fully professional in so far as they are educational. The schools of a community, no matter how wretched they may be, are at least potentially its most democratic and hopeful civic asset. The other professions are to-day rallying around the school; the school is offering them its hospitality and asking their aid. With community centers and health and nutrition centers in the school or closely allied with it; with visiting teachers going out to the homes and others teaching foreigners in the factories; with libraries and museums and chambers of commerce and labor unions all coöperating with the school, no one can say that it is not an active civic and social agency, and that the teacher is not a social worker in the most constructive and least patronizing sense. The college graduate who wishes to work with girls has as fine an opportunity in the high school as in any philanthropic organization; the college graduate who yearns to do "Americanization work" can learn more of its problems through teaching in a school attended by the children of foreigners than she can ever learn outside of it; the college graduate who would become an employment manager may well serve

[1] For an admirable brief statement of present-day opportunities in education, see *Vocational Information*, Leland Stanford Junior University Bulletin (1919), under *Education*.

at least an apprenticeship in the sort of school from which young factory workers are recruited; the college graduate who would understand the rural community may get her best chance for real insight—for country folk are not so "broken" to investigation as are city folk—through teaching in a country school. Instead of being the oldest and dullest of professions, as it sometimes seems to the young, teaching to-day gives promise of becoming one of the newest and most adventurous, with battles and conquests all along the line, all sorts of intellectual and moral "equivalents of war."

But all these new opportunities and new outlooks in the old opportunities call for women with fine social intelligence, broad education, and command of the resources and techniques of their profession. If teaching is to rise to full professional stature, it must not be recruited from the ranks of the timid, the dull, or the lazy. Ten or fifteen years ago most college graduates of ability turned perforce to teaching; those of lesser ability followed. The movement for bureaus of occupations and college conferences on occupations other than teaching, described in the next two chapters, began not in competition with teaching but in the effort to provide for those whose talents and inclinations lay in other directions and who often became teachers in default of other opportunities, to their own dissatisfaction and to the detriment of teaching itself. The claims of teaching as a profession for college women were assumed to be paramount and universally recognized. But nowadays the attraction of other occupations is so strong that teaching has become a discredited and almost forgotten occupation, to which young college graduates turn only as a stop-gap employment, or when they lack ambition or ability to go into anything else. College professors report that their ablest students laugh at the idea that they shall seriously prepare themselves for teaching as a career. Teaching no longer speaks for itself to college women. It has to be brought definitely to their attention like any other occupation and to compete with them on its merits. So serious has the lack of young teachers of the best type become for the private schools that the Headmistresses' Association is asking women prominent in education to speak before the

students of the women's colleges on teaching as a profession. Thus not so long ago were presented the claims of banking or industry, chemistry or medical social service. The high schools are meeting similar difficulties; and there is need of a careful study of the whole matter of the future supply of college teachers. In this fall of teaching from its former high estate as the major occupation for college women there is one obvious advantage. It calls attention to the fact that the modern college of liberal arts is not a professional school for teachers any more than it is for other professions. The college has preserved with respect to teachers its last vocational inheritance from the medieval university. But its function here as elsewhere is only preprofessional, and the preparation it offers is not sufficient by itself to place teaching fully on a par with other modern professions.

The present disinclination to teaching, however, goes deeper than the competition of other professions, the lack of proper advertising, and even the lack of adequate professional training. The drop in the number and the caliber of those looking forward to teaching, the exodus from the ranks of those already in the profession, are signs that something is wrong with the profession itself. Much the same sort of thing has been happening in the fields of domestic service and farm labor. They show that the time is ripe for readjustment and reorganization throughout the entire range of teaching; and this is coming about. Its most obvious disadvantages have always been the low salaries paid and the slow and uncertain rate of advancement. In the old days these were supposed to be offset by security of tenure, social standing, long vacations, and congeniality of occupation. With the present high cost of living the financial situation of teachers has become so desperate that it accounts wholly to many people for the present menacing shortage of workers in the profession. But other salaried professions are facing similar difficulties; and in all of them, as in teaching, vigorous steps are being taken to put the whole matter of remuneration and promotion on a sounder and juster basis than ever before. (See Chapter III.) What amounts to a national campaign for increasing teach-

ers' salaries has been in progress, including the various great college "drives."[1] Its educational as well as its financial results are bound to be large. But low salaries are not the only disadvantage in the teaching profession. There is a growing realization on the part of successful teachers and other educational leaders throughout the country that a fundamental weakness of teaching as a profession lies in the fact that teachers have no share in determining the conditions under which their work is carried on. In the public school system they do not participate, as a rule, even in an advisory capacity, in the framing of educational and administrative policies, the organization of the curriculum, the selection of superintendents, principals, and teachers, the choice of text-books, the establishment of salary-schedules and systems of promotion. Their responsibility is supposed to be limited to the class-room; at most, to the faculty meeting and the individual school. In higher education, the situation is not very much better. Educational direction is exclusively in the hands of boards of education, boards of trustees, superintendents, principals, and presidents. Teachers are commonly not informed of what is going on until decisions have been reached, and sometimes not then. In no other profession have professional workers so little control over matters that affect their own welfare and their relations to the public, although it is a danger inherent in all professions on a salaried basis. It is this lack of participation in the enterprise of education rather than low salaries that accounts to thinking people for the precarious status of teaching as a profession and the turning away from it of the more vigorous and active-minded of the present generation. In this respect teaching is increasingly out of touch with the whole tendency and spirit of the modern occupational world. The old conception of academic freedom is negative and passive, a mere freedom from interference. It needs to become a positive conception of freedom through responsibility. Teachers are too often hired subordinates rather

[1] A National Citizens' Conference on Education attended by the governors and educational authorities of many states was held in Washington, under the auspices of the U. S. Bureau of Education in May, 1920.

than professional workers. But here, too, there are signs of a new era. In both Great Britain and the United States they are asking for representation on boards of educational control and for the formation of teachers' advisory councils. The Committee on the Emergency in Education of the National Education Association has recommended that every school board should recognize the right of teachers to appear before it, and that this right should be guaranteed by legislation. "Next to the provision of better salaries for teachers, nothing will do more to raise the status of the profession and make its service attractive to the kind of men and women that the schools need, than the adoption of a policy that will lift the classroom teacher above the level of a mere routine worker carrying out in a mechanical fashion plans and policies that are handed down from above." Successful teachers' councils exist in Boston, Toledo, Washington, Cincinnati, Portland, Oregon, and other cities, and are being widely established. There seems no reason why teachers should not be represented on boards of education as they are beginning to be represented on college boards of trustees. With both types of board, in any event, they should have organized channels of communication and conference. The rapid increase of teachers' unions among all ranks from the elementary school to the university, whatever may be thought of its wisdom, at least reveals a new initiative and a new group consciousness that are bound to give teachers better professional standing.

These two major disadvantages of teaching, poor salaries and lack of professional control and responsibility, underlie its other disadvantages, low standards of professional training and meager opportunities for professional improvement and personal and social life. A valuable study made under the auspices of the National Education Association [1] asserts that only about twenty-five per cent of the school teachers of the United States have had training extending even two years beyond the high school, that about four million children (or a fifth of those enrolled in elementary schools) are

[1] E. S. Evenden. *Teachers' Salaries and Salary Schedules* (1919), p. 2. See also *Know and Help Your Schools.* Inquiry Number One. American City Bureau (1920).

taught by teachers less than twenty-one years of age "with little or no high school training, with no professional preparation for their work, and who are, in a great majority of cases, products of the same schools in which they teach." Fully forty per cent of teachers are under twenty-five years of age, and the majority of teachers remain in the profession less than five years. The "teaching turnover" in the smaller schools approaches that in the low-paid industries. The United States Commissioner of Education in his report for 1918 does not venture to set as a practical minimum of preparation for teachers anything more than four years of high school and at least one year of professional training. The average of all teachers' salaries in 1918 was only $630.34. Dr. Evenden finds that salaries in 1918-1919 in 392 cities reporting showed a maximum of $2,200 and a median of $856 for teachers below the seventh grade; a maximum of $2,300 and a median of $951 for teachers of the last two grades; a maximum of $3,000 and a median of $1,224 for high school teachers. The *Survey* asked not long since: "Is Teaching a Sweated Trade?" A pungent article in the *Atlantic*[1] suggests that it is an occupation making use of child labor.

From such facts it is obvious that the majority of teachers, like the majority of routine clerical workers, look upon their work as a stop-gap occupation, and are in no sense truly professional. The burdens of professional responsibility and leadership in education consequently fall to-day upon the twenty-five per cent of teachers with normal or college training and upon the institutions sending them forth. The day has gone by for the college graduate to think that she belongs as a teacher only in the secondary school or the college, and has no need of further preparation, for the normal graduate to think that she has no need of university courses. Crowded university summer schools testify that this latter idea is passing. A recent Carnegie Foundation report[2] urges that the name "normal school" be dropped,

[1] A. R. Brubacker. *Plain Talk to Teachers.* Atlantic Monthly. December, 1919.

[2] *The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools.* Bulletin Number Fourteen (1920).

and that these institutions be made an integral part of the system of professional schools attached to the state university. It also makes a strong plea for the professionally trained teacher to continue her work after marriage, pointing out the value of such identification with the community. The fact that ninety per cent of the school population is in the elementary school and will go no further, and that the elementary school is thus the great public agency in matters of child health, child mental hygiene, and a true "Americanization" for both native and foreign born, makes it imperative to put the most thoroughly trained teachers at its service and incumbent upon the colleges and universities to equip them adequately.

To assist in raising the standards of teaching to a genuinely professional level, Dr. Evenden suggests that initial salaries be based upon the amount of education, and that no differences be made between elementary and high school teachers. His salary schedule, proposed in 1919, is as follows, with a reduction of $200 for cities under 25,000 inhabitants to correspond to their lower cost of living:

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION	MINIMAL SALARY	ANNUAL INCREASES	MAXIMAL SALARY
Normal Diploma	$1,200	6 x $100	$1,800
A. B. Degree	$1,400	10 x $100	$2,400
A. M. Degree	$1,600	10 x $100	$2,600
Ph. D. Degree	$2,000	10 x $100	$3,000

The United States Commissioner of Education has recommended a minimum teachers' salary of $1,800, and the American Federation of Teachers a minimum of $2,000. All recent authorities agree that the financial and social distinctions between elementary and high school teachers must be done away with as rapidly as possible. Dr. Evenden's discussion of principles governing salary schedules and promotions is well worth careful attention. Under his plan, teachers of the various degrees of educational preparation would be chosen as of old on the basis of individual fitness; those with successful experience would begin at a salary above the minimum to which their education entitled them. He has a special scale for heads of departments,

special supervisors, and principals, and suggests ways in which exceptional ability and service may fairly be rewarded above the maximum. As a practical measure of the cost of living in different communities, he asked superintendents the cost of suitable board and room for a teacher. He presents an estimate made by an expert in living conditions of the percentage of salary at different levels that should go to these two items.

SALARY	PER CENT FOR ROOM AND BOARD
$1,800	42 per cent
$1,200	50 per cent
$900	57 per cent

Such a percentage might well be worked out for clothing, which is always a heavy item in a teacher's budget and the increased cost of which since 1914 has considerably exceeded that of food. The minimum budget prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for a woman government clerk[1] provides a convenient parallel, although it is on a meager scale.

The importance of raising teaching to full professional status has never been so widely recognized, and popular interest in education has never been so widespread nor so little satisfied with things as they are. The high percentage of illiteracy discovered in the American forces during the war and the war-time agitation regarding non-English-speaking foreigners have led to a somewhat excessive concentration upon the mere ability to speak, read, and write English. But these more superficial considerations have in their turn led to a fresh realization of the functions and possibilities of education in a democracy made up of all the peoples of the earth. The "Smith-Towner" bill, now before Congress, creates a federal Department of Education with a secretary at its head sitting in the President's cabinet, in place of the present subordinate Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior; authorizes the consolidation under it of the thirty-odd independent agencies under the federal government concerned in one way or another with education; and allots one hundred million dollars a year to all states meeting certain educational standards for the

[1] *Monthly Labor Review.* January, 1920.

abatement of illiteracy, native and foreign, the improvement of teachers' salaries and professional preparation, especially for rural schools, the encouragement of health education and health agencies. Provision is made for research in these fields. While many educators and students of affairs do not approve of the extremely specific requirements of this particular bill, nor of the principle of direct federal aid to the states for education, there seems to be general agreement that it would be advisable to recognize the national importance of education by establishing a department of cabinet rank with appropriations of sufficient liberality to enable it to make continuous and thorough investigations and reports on the progress and character of education in the several states. The stimulating effect of such comparative studies, even when not made under public auspices, is illustrated by the famous Carnegie Foundation *Report on Medical Education* of ten years ago, and by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres's recent *Index Number for State School Systems,*[1] showing their relative standing in certain respects for the last fifty years. Educational leaders are urging the creation of a presidential commission on education, similar to the President's Industrial Commission, to make a comprehensive study and report before the passage of legislation by Congress. Education is traditionally and constitutionally a matter for state control. But some method must be devised for correcting inequalities of educational opportunity, which are almost as great within states as between states, and for stimulating public interest and public support. With eighteen thousand school buildings closed and almost a million children deprived of existing educational facilities through lack of teachers; with an estimated shortage of from thirty-five thousand to ninety thousand teachers for 1920-1921, including fifteen thousand high school teachers; with a lowering of already deplorably low standards of preparation—it is no wonder that there is talk of a national crisis in education.[2]

[1] Russell Sage Foundation (1920).

[2] See J. A. H. Keith and William C. Bagley. *The Nation and the Schools* (1920), especially Chapters XVIII-XIX. W. D. Lane. *The National Crisis in Education.* Survey, May 29, 1920.

Meanwhile, there are many signs of popular interest and action. Massachusetts has passed a law providing more equal educational facilities throughout the state. The American Federation of Labor has an enlightened and democratic educational program, and advocates greater responsibility and independence for the teacher. A national committee for chamber of commerce coöperation with the schools is made up of an equal number of chamber of commerce secretaries and superintendents of schools, and has enlisted the coöperation of over four hundred chambers in an investigation of teachers' salaries and other educational problems.[1] The American Army Educational Commission, which carried on the educational work for our overseas forces, recommends a permanent bureau of education as part of the machinery of the League of Nations, and says that "education has become the chief concern of statesmen." An Institute of International Education has been established in New York to facilitate the exchange of professors and students between American and European educational institutions, and to act as a clearing-house of educational information. It is administering a large number of exchange fellowships and scholarships, among them the Rose Sidgwick Memorial Fellowship for British university women. Others are open to women.

In view of the urgent and far-reaching demand for teachers adequately prepared to deal with the manifold and enlarging problems of modern education, the universities and colleges are confronted by new educational responsibilities. Greater numbers of teachers will be educated by them, and there will be closer relations of some kind between them and the normal and training schools. Professional training proper for teaching as for other professions is a function of the university and not of the college of liberal arts. Teachers College of Columbia University is on a graduate basis; Harvard University has just established a Graduate School of Education and Yale is doing likewise; the University of Chicago and other universities have schools giving the master's and doctor's degrees in this field. Many of the colleges have undergraduate departments and courses

[1] *Know and Help Your Schools* (Pamphlet, 1920).

in education; but their relation to professional training for teaching has never been made wholly clear. Some of them are doing excellent work; others are concessions to state requirements for teachers, and win little respect from either faculty or students. They are a hybrid sort of thing, neither truly professional nor truly liberal. But there is a legitimate place and a genuine need for pre-professional courses in education in the undergraduate curriculum, dealing with the school as one of the most important of modern social institutions, with the history of educational practices and ideals as related to social development, with the psychological trends and responses of the child that make him susceptible of both right and wrong education, and with psychological measurements. Courses of this sort are certainly as liberalizing as courses in charities and corrections, industrial and political history, labor problems, and abnormal psychology. Students do not become aware of educational problems and the modern significance of education merely through going to college. Without such courses, they lack an element of good citizenship; and if they begin to teach without professional training, they are likely to inflict upon their pupils what has been termed "watered college or cold school." With these courses, they are far more likely to perceive the need of proper professional study. There is a good deal to be said for giving undergraduate courses in education not in a special department but in the several departments of history, sociology, and psychology in which they naturally fall, with some provision for coördinated administration.

In addition to better salaries and better professional training, though dependent upon them, are certain other changes that must be made in the opportunities of a teacher in order to enable teaching not merely to hold its own but to take the leading position among the professions that its importance warrants. Modern teachers must be of vigorous and growing personality with varied resources and contacts with life; and the conditions of their work must not be such as to shut them out from participation in the affairs of their day and their community. Teaching can no longer be a secluded and monotonous occupation. Moreover, it must be

clearly recognized that good modern teaching makes heavy demands upon the mental and physical energy of teachers, and requires various provisions for their reinvigoration. "Sabbatical years" are needed not only by college teachers but by teachers in every grade of the service; and these leaves should not all be given according to one plan but according to various types of teacher and kinds of work. Teachers whose interest is primarily in research are probably well served by the existing method; teachers who expend themselves in notably good teaching are likely to require shorter and more frequent leaves; teachers whose abilities are markedly administrative need opportunities to see what others are doing. Sometimes part-time work for a year or a half-year will enable a teacher to finish a piece of writing or to serve on an outside committee. Exchanges of teachers between institutions, particularly when they are situated in different parts of the country, are growing in favor and bring new ideas and refreshment of spirit. There is much to be said for exchanges between college and secondary teachers. War-service has shown the advantages of the teacher's taking up temporarily some other type of work, allied to his own field. Institutions are likely to continue and extend the practice of "lending" members of their faculties not only to the government but to social and industrial organizations. The introduction of the four-quarter system in both colleges and schools would further flexibility in these arrangements, and would make education more responsive to the needs of the times. Dr. Edwin F. Gay in an article entitled *Does a University Career Offer No Future?* points out the new position and the new function of higher institutions in national life. "They are now expected not only to transmit the store of usable knowledge but to add to it by research on all sides; they are looked to increasingly for the training of teachers and administrators for the lower schools, thus bringing the university in closer touch with the great masses of the population; they are under constant pressure to meet the new needs of a new industrial society by new, specialized instruction."

Teachers of special subjects and of special groups are

increasing in number and importance, and are finding improved and widespread facilities for preparation. In connection with school systems are teachers of art, music, physical education, "manual training," "home economics," commercial subjects, kindergartens, as well as supervisors in these fields. There are teachers of retarded, defective, and exceptionally bright children; teachers in technical and commercial high schools; teachers in trade, agricultural, and other vocational schools; teachers of applied arts and handicrafts; teachers of play, recreation, folk-dancing and pageantry; teachers of gardening and farming; teachers in factory "vestibule schools," in department stores, and in offices; teachers in institutions for the atypical; teachers of "occupational therapy"; teachers in reformatories and prisons; teachers in professional schools; teachers in various "extension systems" and classes for adults; teachers in "trade union colleges." Actual "shop" or "field" practice is coming to be considered a necessary part of their equipment, especially in order that they may supervise their students in such work. The Federal Board for Vocational Education, working through the states, is standardizing and coordinating the preparation of teachers in agriculture, trades, home economics, commerce, and retail salesmanship. The social bearings of modern education make it necessary for special teachers to have an adequate foundation of liberal education, as well as thorough training in their techniques and in the larger professional aspects of teaching.

Teachers of "special classes" in the public schools, of trades and industries, of non-English-speaking children and adults both native and foreign-born, combine to a peculiar extent the functions of teacher and "social worker." But vocational advisers or counselors and visiting teachers or "home-and-school visitors" are the real "case workers" in the educational field. They need specific training and experience in teaching and in certain aspects of social and industrial work, as well as familiarity with mental hygiene and at least the results of psychological tests. Although the work of one is primarily preventive and constructive and of the other remedial, their lines often cross; and both have recourse to psychological and vocational laboratories

or clinics, such as the Cincinnati Vocation Bureau and the recently established psychological clinic in Louisville. Some university laboratories provide these facilities for the schools of the community.

In vocational guidance, methods are still experimental and admittedly imperfect; but much active thinking has been generated by the war. It is an educational service of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. It may perhaps be most fruitfully regarded as one aspect of a continuous educational guidance, which must be given by school and society in coöperation, and which must never harden into set practices. There is a tendency in the schools as well as in the colleges (discussed in Chapter XXI) to lay the chief educational emphasis upon vocational information through opening to the student the main fields of occupation,[1] showing the vocational bearings of the curriculum, and making preliminary tests of ability and aptitude in order to give him a basis for handling himself wisely and objectively. Personnel specifications, dealt with in Chapter III, are an important aid. Actual placement is being made more and more through junior sections of public employment offices, special non-commercial bureaus, and personnel departments of industries, with which the school must be in close contact. But placement itself is not an educational function. The National Vocational Guidance Association is again active.[2] Various universities have given courses in vocational guidance for teachers; and many cities, notably Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, Grand Rapids, Rochester, have vocational guidance systems of different sorts as part of their public school activities. Others have vocational guidance bureaus under private auspices. Settlement houses, the Christian Associations, and other agencies dealing with boys and girls and young people employ vocational advisers. The bureaus of occupations for trained women have laid great emphasis upon their function of guidance. A Bureau of Vocational Information has been established in New

[1] See F. J. Allen. *A Guide to the Study of Occupations* (1921).

[2] See reports of committees on machinery of placement and community organization for vocational guidance. *Bulletin of National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations.* February, 1920.

York by experienced college women. A bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education gives over nine hundred high schools reporting vocational guidance.[1]

Visiting teachers are to schools what medical social workers are to hospitals. They follow any child giving evidence of school or home difficulties into his home and neighborhood, and study and treat the situation as the class teacher is not able to do, bringing to bear all necessary coöperating agencies. About twenty cities employ these teachers under the board of education, including Worcester, Hartford, Rochester, Cleveland, Columbus, Chicago, and Minneapolis. In Boston, Philadelphia, and Kansas City they are maintained in the public schools by private associations. New York has both methods. California in 1915 passed a permissive "home teacher" act authorizing school boards to send teachers into the homes to instruct mothers and children in the English language, household duties, and citizenship. This is primarily an "Americanization" measure. The National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors, organized in 1916, is now making a survey of the work of visiting teachers throughout the country. The Federal Children's Bureau indorses the work of the visiting teacher in connection with its campaign for keeping children in school; and the mental hygienist finds her an invaluable aid. It is work that requires special professional and personal equipment, but has a high degree of social usefulness. It is distinct from the work of the attendance or truant officer in that its emphasis is on prevention. A visiting teacher should preferably have had classroom experience, but the case-hardened teacher is not suited to this work.[2] The school psychological examiner is discussed in Chapter XVII.

Of other educational services, educational administration grows most directly out of teaching, since it is commonly as a teacher that the administrator tests his aptitude,

[1] *Vocational Guidance in Secondary Education.* Bulletin 19, 1918. See also *Vocational Guidance and the Public Schools.* Bulletin 24, 1918; John M. Brewer, *The Vocational Guidance Movement* (1918); and Meyer Bloomfield, *Readings in Vocational Guidance* (1916).

[2] See David Holbrook. *The Teacher Who Came Back.* The Family. February, 1921.

and the actual teaching experience is of inestimable value in dealing with administrative problems. But the principal, superintendent, president or dean may likewise nowadays secure special professional training in problems of administration. It is important, wherever possible, for the administrator to continue to do some teaching in order to keep in mind essential teaching problems and to retain actual contacts with students. Deans of women in coeducational universities, whose position is sometimes ill-defined,[1] need to insist upon a full position on the faculty and preferably upon a certain amount of teaching. Nothing so wins the respect of students for administrative officers. Men still occupy the larger number of administrative posts in education. But there are women in all the types of position mentioned above. In the west, nine women are state superintendents of education and very commonly county superintendents, of whom there are now some seven hundred and twenty. A woman state superintendent is president of the National Education Association; a woman was for a number of years superintendent of schools in Chicago; another has recently become one in Los Angeles. Women city superintendents and high-school principals are likely to increase. There are of course many women heads of private schools.

There are also administrative positions in connection with educational associations, local and national, and in connection with city and state boards of education. A dozen cities or so, including New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Providence, Worcester, Chicago, Baltimore, and Richmond, maintain voluntary public education associations to study the operations of the local school system and to keep citizens informed and interested in their efficient administration.

Educational investigation and research are of many kinds and carried on under various auspices, public and private. The United States Bureau of Education in the Department

[1] See Lois Kimball Matthews. *The Dean of Women* (1916). There is a National Conference of Deans of Women meeting with the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, and a Deans' Conference in connection with the biennial meetings of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ.

of the Interior has for many years performed a valuable service in collecting and distributing statistical and other information. It is cruelly limited by meager appropriations, but issues a useful series of bulletins and biennial statistical reports. Of late years, both it and the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor have carried on campaigns for the improvement of child health through the schools. The Children's Bureau has also conducted a "Back to School" campaign. The Department of Agriculture and more recently the Department of Commerce have also engaged in important educational investigations. A recent estimate, however, finds that the federal government spends only one per cent of its annual appropriations for education and research. The American Council on Education, arising as a war-emergency measure, represents the colleges, universities, and professional schools at the capital, and acts as a medium of communication between them and the federal government. The National Education Association, representing especially the public school systems of the country, likewise has a central office in Washington. Many state departments of education and a few large city school systems, maintain bureaus of investigation and research. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Department of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation conduct intensive educational investigations, and are frequently called in as experts to make special surveys and studies for states, communities, and organizations. The Carnegie Foundation has made a survey of the educational system of the state of Vermont, and its recent bulletin on the professional training of teachers is based on a study of the Missouri system of normal and training schools. The General Education Board issued in 1919 an eight-volume report on the *Gary School System*. The Education Survey in 25 small volumes, made in 1916 by the Cleveland Foundation, enlisted the coöperation of a large staff of experts. The new Commonwealth Foundation has made large appropriations for educational inquiry. The Bureau of Education has been invited to make a number of state surveys. Special studies are con-

stantly being made of problems of teaching and administration, and the scope of research in educational psychology is steadily widening. Demonstration and experimental schools are being established. A group of people in New York maintain a Bureau of Educational Experiments. These various forms of work have developed their own techniques, in which a worker must be trained. They call for people with the equipment of a doctor of philosophy in education. Sometimes those with a master's degree can gain training and experience as assistants on special studies. Much of this work is on a piece basis, and is consequently limited in duration. But there are a few salaried positions for experts in educational research in connection with educational foundations, federal and state educational bureaus, boards, and commissions, and educational organizations. There are chances to become experts in some of the newer fields. Women as yet have had small place in educational research.

In spite of the defections in late years, teaching is still the most important single profession for women; and it promises far more satisfactory professional opportunities in the near future than it has provided in the past. The 1910 census shows that of over seven hundred thousand women listed as professional, 66.4 per cent were teachers in colleges and schools. Women teachers were 28.9 per cent of all professional workers, 80 per cent of all school teachers, and 18 per cent of college teachers.[1] Of college women at work in 1915 according to the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ census, 70.5 per cent were teachers. The 1920 census will show losses from these figures, but by 1930 teaching may have become in a new sense the dominant profession for women.

[1] A committee of the American Association of University Professors is looking into the distribution of men and women on university and college faculties. In this connection, see Cora F. McIntire, *A Venture in Statistics.* Journal of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, October, 1918, and *Opportunities and Salaries of Women in the Teaching Profession in Nebraska* in the same publication, March-April, 1920.

CHAPTER XX

THE SECURING OF EMPLOYMENT BY WOMEN PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

PROFESSIONAL education, professional associations, and professional employment are intimately connected, and must be considered as aspects of a single larger problem. That problem we are just beginning to formulate as the problem of professional relations and to attack concretely and constructively as the industrial world has been attacking the problem of industrial relations. The two movements represent attempts from different angles to arrive at some more satisfactory adjustment of working relations as a whole. They constantly touch and reinforce each other, and are likely to become progressively coördinated. It is too soon for either movement to forecast its development with assurance. But our thinking on all matters of employment has been raised to an entirely new plane.

During the war period there were three outstanding developments affecting the employment of professional workers and arising out of the imperative and increasing war demand for experts of nearly every variety. First, the establishment of special personnel bureaus or departments by war-services of all kinds—governmental, patriotic, social, industrial and commercial; second, the establishment under the federal Department of Labor in coöperation with the states of the War Emergency United States Employment Service covering the country with some nine hundred offices, providing for every group of workers, and finally creating a special professional section for men and women; third, the establishment of the War Department Committee on Classification of Personnel in the Army, already described in Chapter III, which listed, rated, and distributed officers and men required in military services, including

many professional workers. There were likewise a number of subsidiary undertakings of a professional character: registrations and distributions of workers made by the great professional organizations—the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association, the American Library Association, the American Chemical Society, the United Engineering Societies—and by such organizations as the Military Training Camps Association, the Public Service Reserve, and the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defence. The Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau, organized in Washington by a group of college officials and coöperating with higher educational institutions to recruit workers needed by the government, performed a useful service until early in 1918, when it was superseded by more comprehensive agencies. Shortly after the armistice the United States Bureau of Education established a special School Board Service Section to deal with actual and threatened shortages of teachers in colleges and schools. The Intercollegiate Community Service Association maintained an office in New York for the recruiting of college women for service overseas with the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. canteen service, and other welfare organizations.

For some time before the war individual methods of securing professional employment and professional workers had been recognized as haphazard, wasteful, and generally unsatisfactory; and employment agencies and bureaus of various kinds for professional workers were growing in number. These are of two main types: agencies conducted for profit and agencies conducted under the auspices of professional or educational associations. Of the agencies on a money-making basis, the teachers' agencies have had the longest and on the whole the most respectable history, although they have varied greatly in repute. Some of them have been organized on a country-wide scale, and are experienced in employment methods and in meeting the needs of teachers and schools. But the standard colleges and many of the better private schools seldom use them, preferring to deal directly with institutions and with applicants. More recent in origin are such agencies as the Newspaper Men's Exchange of Springfield, Massa-

chusetts, the Engineers' Exchange in various cities, the National Employment Exchange of New York, the Business Men's Clearing House of Chicago, the nurses' registries. The employment agencies maintained by typewriter and other commercial machine companies place occasional professional workers. While many of these agencies are entirely honest, and have worked out employment techniques that are worthy of study, still they are businesses run for profit, and their incomes depending upon fees and commissions, they are tempted to move people about rather than to consult the true professional interests of all concerned. As at present organized and supervised, they are open to many of the objections urged against fee-charging agencies for other groups of workers. In all of them lurks the danger of exploiting the individual's need of work and ignorance of where and how to find it. The professional worker's frequent distrust of fee-charging agencies is due to an unformulated notion that they are fundamentally unprofessional.

Nevertheless, these agencies were the first to realize that the elaborate occupational structure of modern society demands some intermediary service which shall bring worker and employer together to their mutual advantage. For them to find each other individually has become increasingly difficult. Several alternatives remain. The service may be rendered as a matter of private business, as is done by the agencies just described. It may be rendered by the several occupational groups, independently or jointly, as is done by the labor unions and by an increasing number of professions. It may be rendered as a matter of philanthropy, as is done by the Young Women's Christian Associations. It may be rendered as a matter of educational convenience or policy, as has been done by the colleges and professional schools and, in a somewhat different sense, by the bureaus of occupations for trained women. It may be rendered as a necessary public service by the government, federal, state, and municipal, and paid for like public education, out of taxes.

Employment bureaus maintained by professional associations are a comparatively recent development, and until

the war they were rather tentative affairs without much coöperation with one another or with other employment movements. One of the earliest and most efficient is the Employment Bureau of the Chemist's Club of New York. The United Engineering Societies likewise maintain an employment bureau. The National Social Workers' Exchange was established in 1917 with the backing of the National Conference of Social Work, and is actively working to raise professional standards. The Art Alliance of America has a bureau chiefly for workers in applied art. The national organizations of registered nurses had adopted before the war a policy of establishing their own nurses' registries; and the Red Cross organized after the war a Bureau of Information for Nurses, with their coöperation, which acts in this capacity on a national scale. In fact, whether they have organized employment bureaus or not, all professional associations carry on employment work of an informal character through professional publications, meetings, and personal acquaintance of members. In associations of definite and limited membership, such as the American Association of Museums, or newly organized associations, such as the Industrial Relations Association of America, the secretary is frequently called upon to do more work of an employment character than he has time, inclination, or often equipment to do. Many a college president or professor attends meetings of learned societies to see whether he can get wind of likely candidates for positions in his institution or department. War developments, however, have taught many of the great professional organizations that employment work carried on informally, incidentally, and amateurishly is almost worse than useless. They are beginning to see that there is a new profession, employment service, with a growing body of principles and techniques, for which workers must be prepared before they can conduct such undertakings successfully for any group of workers, professional, clerical, or industrial; that essential as it is for each profession to confront and study its own employment problems, there are serious disadvantages in having each maintain an independent employment bureau, inevitably limited and yet overlapping.

Professions no longer operate in isolation. Practically every important modern undertaking involves the closest sort of professional coöperation. The professions are increasingly conscious of their obligations to one another and to the public welfare. Professional associations have long maintained committees on education, which have had to do chiefly with the standards of professional schools and the subject-matter of professional curricula. In the future they are likely to concern themselves more intimately with the supply and distribution of young professional workers and to realize the vital connections between education and employment. There are many problems common to all the professions; and there is crying need of some centralized machinery which shall study comparatively problems of professional distribution, preparation, training in service, and so on, putting the experience of each profession at the disposal of the others. Such a system must focus upon the growing-point of all professions, the education, employment, and supervision of the younger generation of workers, although it will likewise concern itself with workers of every degree of experience and competence. It may well be that with the establishment of such a system, professional organizations would depute to it the actual placement of workers, and would organize their own bureaus as coöperating agencies concerned with problems of education and research within the several professions. There is still much to be learned regarding the surpluses and shortages in different professions and in different parts of the country. Every profession needs a study of the number of its practitioners in each county or other local area of the country as compared with the total population, along the lines of the survey of physicians made in 1918 by the American Medical Association. Such a study should include age-groups, professional and general education, employment on a salaried or independent basis, membership in professional associations; activities of these organizations.

In 1910, college women were instrumental in inaugurating the movement for city bureaus of occupations for trained women which has made a distinctive contribution to the present larger movement for some sort of nation-wide

professional employment service for both men and women. The first of these bureaus was established by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, an institution which had long been a leader in promoting the vocational and economic welfare of women. It was opened in January, 1910, with Miss Laura Drake Gill, formerly Dean of Barnard College, as Director, and has been popularly known as the Boston Appointment Bureau, although its present official title is Bureau of Vocational Advice and Appointment. Since 1911 Miss Florence Jackson has been Director. In the autumn of that year a second bureau, the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations for Trained Women, was opened in New York City through the coöperative efforts of the alumnæ clubs and associations of eight women's colleges and the women graduates of Cornell University. In April, 1912, the Philadelphia Bureau of Occupations was established under the auspices of the Philadelphia Branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ and other organizations of women. The Chicago Collegiate Bureau of Occupations followed in April, 1913, under the auspices of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ and various college clubs and associations. In 1914 the Virginia Bureau of Vocations for Women was established in Richmond, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. O. L. Hatcher. Its function is educational and advisory, and it does no placement. The year 1915 saw the establishment of the Los Angeles Bureau of Occupations of the Women's University Club, the Pittsburgh Collegiate Vocational Bureau of the Pittsburgh College Club, and the Collegiate Alumnæ Bureau of Occupations in Kansas City, under the auspices of the local branch of that association. The Detroit Collegiate Bureau of Occupations was established in 1916; the Cleveland and Denver Bureaus were established in 1917; the Minneapolis Woman's Occupational Bureau late in 1917, and the Saint Paul Vocational Bureau for Trained Women early in 1918. Although these bureaus were established, administered, and supported separately and in various ways, they organized in 1917 a National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations which has since held conferences twice a year for the discussion of common problems and policies.

The bureaus of occupations for trained women arose as a result of the growing inclination of educated women to go into ocupations other than teaching, which became manifest in the decade between 1900 and 1910, and has since become so pronounced that teaching is to-day suffering from a dearth of recruits of the highest type. The 1915 census of college women showed that the percentage of those in non-teaching occupations increased from 29.2 per cent of all employed between 1890 and 1900 to 33.7 of all employed between 1900 and 1910. Our schedules sent to the colleges in the summer of 1919 asked for the initial occupations of the classes of 1907, 1912, 1917, 1918, 1919. Many colleges were unable during the vacation to furnish this information, and the returns for 1919 are so incomplete that they have not been used. Figures also from several of the minor colleges are too small to be fairly reduced to percentages. But the following table, based on returns from our schedules, indicates the trend especially during the two years of war. Undoubtedly the status of women in all professions will be substantially improved on account of the war-time expèrience with women workers. But the revelation of the primary national importance of education, the present acute shortage of teachers, and the extension of educational ideas and practices into the occupations themselves, are bound to raise the professional standing and strengthen the appeal of teaching. In the table little difference is to be observed between the liberal arts colleges and the institutions providing vocational training, although individual institutions vary considerably in their distribution of graduates in teaching and non-teaching occupations.

Before the establishment of the bureaus of occupations and during their earlier history, there was general ignorance and uncertainty regarding the opportunities for educated women in occupations other than teaching, the actual range and character of these occupations, the training required for them, and the specific modes of securing employment in them. While there was a similar lack of organized information for educated men, the situation for them was rendered far less difficult through the assured position of

PERCENTAGE TABLE OF INITIAL OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN GRADUATES OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

Institutions	Teaching	Other Occupations	Teaching	Other Occupations	Teaching	Other Occupations	Teaching	Other Occupations
Dates	1907		1912		1917		1918	
Barnard	.....	.....	.....	.....	35.2	64.8	39.	61.
Mount Holyoke	93.8	6.2	84.7	15.3	47.9	52.1	49.6	50.4
Radcliffe	77.6	22.4	67.8	32.2	62.	38.	44.	56.
Vassar	77.	23.	52.[1]	48.[1]	.....	.....	29.3	70.7
Wellesley	83.1	16.9	76.9	23.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
DePauw University[2]	100.	.....	77.3	22.7	54.5	45.5	48.	52.
Margaret Morrison,[2] Carnegie School of Carnegie Institute	.....	.....	.....	.....	28.	72.	37.1	62.9

[1] Figures for third year after graduation.
[2] Teaching positions largely in home economics.

men in the occupational world and their access to business and the professions through relatives, friends, professional schools, and professional organizations. Nevertheless, the difficulties encountered by young men in establishing themselves professionally without some machinery of information and placement are only now receiving tardy recognition and attention. The ten years' experience of the bureaus of occupations for trained women in dealing with the difficulties of a professionally emerging and unsophisticated group of workers, in the face of hesitations on the part of

both employers and educational institutions, has much to offer to any program for a professional employment service for both men and women workers.

From the beginning the bureaus of occupations have regarded their work of education, information, and investigation as of primary importance; their work of placement as secondary, although greatly needed both as an aid to individuals and as a means of checking the authenticity and timeliness of the information secured. They have also come to recognize the value of following up placements and of studying the duration of professional employment, or what, to borrow from the industrial vocabulary, may be called the "professional turnover." They have seen that their work of vocational education must include not only women going into professional occupations, but their employers, the institutions from which they come, and the community in general. As an integral part of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, the Boston Appointment Bureau has been a pioneer and leader in matters of occupational education and information. In the first year of its existence it issued a survey of professional and semi-professional occupations for women entitled *Vocations for the Trained Woman, Part 1,* modeled after an English publication called the *Finger-Post,* and the first book of the kind in this country. In 1914 and 1916 Parts 2 and 3 appeared, dealing respectively with opportunities for women in agriculture, social service, secretarial service, and real estate in Massachusetts and Boston, and with opportunities for women in domestic science throughout the country. Part One, issued ten years ago, is both out of print and necessarily out of date. The present volume is an attempt under the same auspices to survey the field afresh in the light of a decade of active development culminating in the experiences of the war. The Appointment Bureau likewise issued early in its career a number of small bulletins on specific occupations in Boston; and for several years has held a series of conferences during the winter on various occupational fields for women, addressed by prominent workers. It has organized clubs for young professional workers, and has twice arranged "social service excursions"

to Boston for women undergraduate students. Its more direct relations with the New England colleges are described in the next chapter. It carries on an extensive correspondence on vocational matters, and is visited by vocational workers from the entire country. It also provides an apprenticeship course in professional employment service for two or three young college graduates on a fellowship basis, which includes training visits to other bureaus of occupations. The Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations in New York developed a strong information department, and made intensive studies of opportunities for women in various fields, including a study of *Opportunities for Women in the Municipal Civil Service of the City of New York,* issued in 1918, a *Classified List of Vocations for Trained Women,* and bulletins on women in industrial chemistry and in scientific work. The inheritor of its information department, the Bureau of Vocational Information, established early in 1919, has issued in coöperation with the National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations, a comprehensive pamphlet entitled: *Vocations for Business and Professional Women,* and is issuing intensive studies of women in chemistry, law, statistics, and department stores. Other bureaus have issued useful vocational material: the Philadelphia Bureau, in 1916, a series of leaflets prepared by Philadelphia women in various occupations; the Cleveland Bureau, in May, 1919, a bulletin on *Opportunities for Trained Women in Cleveland Factories;* in March, 1920, another on *Opportunities in Cleveland for Women Trained in Domestic Science and Home Economics;* the Minneapolis Bureau in 1919 a bulletin on *Women in Banking in the City of Minneapolis,* and in 1920 a series of leaflets. The Virginia Bureau of Vocations for Women is doing a piece of pioneer work for the south. All the bureaus have established intimate, although more or less informal, relations with colleges and professional schools in their territory, and all of them, to the limit of their resources, have made local studies of occupations for women. For several years they maintained a bulletin giving the current news from each bureau, and this publication was revived by the National Committee, and issued during 1919-

1920 by the Bureau of Vocational Information under the editorship of Miss Emma P. Hirth, its director.

These local studies have been reinforced and supplemented by the more comprehensive vocational studies of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, the only national organization of college women. This organization has cooperated actively with the bureaus both as a whole and through its local branches. In fact, some of the western bureaus were founded through the activity of branches of the Association, and maintain an active connection with them. In 1910, contemporaneously with the founding of the Appointment Bureau in Boston, the Association created a standing committee on vocational opportunities other than teaching, which has been successively under the chairmanship of Dr. Elizabeth Kemper Adams, Dr. Gertrude S. Martin, Miss Florence Jackson, and Mrs. May S. Cheney. This committee has been responsible for the publication of a study of three hundred college women in non-teaching occupations, appearing in 1913;[1] a bulletin entitled *Vocational Training: A Classified List of Institutions Training Educated Women for Occupations Other than Teaching,* also appearing in 1913;[2] a *Census of College Women* made in 1915 under the direction of Miss Mary Van Kleeck and reported in 1918;[1] and two related studies of vocational guidance in the colleges made under the direction of Miss Florence Jackson and reported in 1917 and 1919.[1] It has also organized local committees in the branches and kept them in touch through a monthly circular letter; and it has twice called appointment bureau conferences, two of a pioneer character in the spring and fall of 1911 and two sectional conferences in the fall of 1919, one in New York in coöperation with the Bureau of Vocational Information and one in Chicago in connection with a meeting of the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations, to discuss the larger relations among the colleges, the professions, and professional employment bureaus arising out of the war.

The earlier relations between the various bureaus of oc-

[1] See *Journal of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ,* Vols. 6, 10, 11, 12, and *passim* for vocational articles and information.

[2] *Association of Collegiate Alumnæ Bulletin Number 1.*

cupations and the colleges, especially through their appointment bureaus, are discussed more fully in the next chapter. Here it is enough to say that while these relations were friendly and in some cases cordial, they rested upon no clearly recognized basis nor policy. The bureaus of occupations were not due to the colleges as institutions but to the initiative of college women themselves, or, in the case of the Boston Bureau, to the initiative of a far-seeing student of the times like Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew. It has, in fact, taken the war to arouse most of the colleges to anything more than a languid interest in their own appointment bureaus; and in general they failed to grasp the educational significance of the bureau of occupations movement. The bureaus were outside organizations not under their control; and there was furthermore a practical difficulty in the fact that most of them charged fees, or at least commissions, for their services, and so appeared sometimes in the light of ordinary profit-making employment agencies. This allegation has amused, when it has not distressed, the boards and managers who know how far from meeting the expense of their educational and investigational services such fees and commissions have been. But in the present period of reorganization and working out of new methods of professional coöperation this whole matter of charges for services needs to be considered far more carefully than has yet been done.

The Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau in Washington already described did not establish a service for women until shortly before it went out of existence early in 1918. Its system of "adjutants" in coöperating institutions had been organized wholly to the end of procuring men for government service; and deans of women or vocational secretaries for women were naturally not included. Its service for men was incorporated into the War Service Exchange of the Adjutant General's Office of the War Department and its new service for women under the management of Miss Julia Newton Brooks became in April, 1918, the Women's Collegiate Section of the recently created War Emergency United States Employment Service. In July, 1918, Dr. Elizabeth Kemper Adams, who had been sent to Washing-

ton as the representative of the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations, was appointed chief of the Section.

Between May and November, 1918, eight of the twelve bureaus of occupations—those in Cleveland, Detroit, Denver, Kansas City, Minneapolis, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh—took the patriotic and courageous step of entering the Employment Service as professional sections in the several states, but with the expectation of coöperating in a clearance and information service through the Washington Professional Office. The bureaus in Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles coöperated informally, and waived fees and commissions for positions secured through the Employment Service, while the Virginia bureau coöperated in matters of information. Shortly before the armistice plans were matured for the amalgamation of the Women's Professional Section and the Public Service Reserve for professional men, which had been operating independently under the Employment Service, into a single Professional Section for men and women. The General Order establishing the section formally was not issued until January 2, 1919. In the meantime the signing of the armistice on November 11 produced an immediate reversal of the entire employment situation. From dealing with an acute labor shortage the Employment Service had to turn almost over night to dealing with an acute labor surplus. The critical professional problem became the redistribution and reëmployment in civil life of the large numbers of young professional men in military or other government service; and in this emergency the smaller but no less real problem of the reëmployment of professional women who had been in war services was almost lost sight of. Under these circumstances the attempts to establish single professional offices in the field for men and women workers were attended by innumerable difficulties; and the failure of Congress to provide appropriations for continuing the Employment Service led to its drastic curtailment in March, 1919, and to the abolition of the Professional Section on April 15.

The experience of the bureaus of occupations under the government was too brief and too chaotic to produce any satisfactory results of a concrete nature. But in a large

way it marks the end of the first period in their history and the beginning of a new period. They cannot go back to their old local and independent handling of the employment problems of professional women. The colleges and the professions themselves have had a similar experience, and from their temporary war-time affiliations all three have brought at least a vision of a new system of professional relations and some sort of coöperative nation-wide professional employment service for men and women workers.

To some of us the only ultimately democratic and adequate form will be a service under public control as an integral part of a great federal-state employment system with provision for every group from "day workers" to professional workers.[1] Such an inclusion would be of mutual advantage. It would help to give professional persons a needed sense of themselves as workers among other workers; and on the other hand it would help to emphasize the fact that a modern employment service is not merely for those who are out of work, an "unemployment service," but also a great piece of public machinery for the transfer and promotion of all kinds of workers and for the collecting and distributing of information about every aspect of the labor market, a great instrument in the development of satisfactory working relations, industrial, commercial, and professional. But we may perhaps be selfishly relieved that the establishment of a satisfactory public employment service is likely to be delayed until we have had time to study professional problems more fully and to work out experimentally an employment system of our own which may later be advantageously incorporated into a public system.

Certain points regarding a professional service have emerged with tolerable clearness. (1) An adequate professional employment service must be nation-wide in scope with provisions for clearing information, opportunities, and workers. (2) On the other hand the more specialized are the requirements of employers and workers, the less satisfactorily can they be dealt with through a central office and

[1] The Russell Sage Foundation is about to issue a study of the operation and development of public employment offices.

through correspondence alone. There must be regional offices with provisions for skillful personal interviewing and rating, and a central clearance office or possibly a small group of clearance offices, one for the east, one for the south, one for the central west and one for the far west. Regional offices might correspond to the district offices of the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, or the divisional headquarters of the American Red Cross. The important matter is to have them in centers of population and professional activity. The existing bureaus of occupations are well-distributed except for the south and the far west. (3) Both the central and the regional offices must be administered by persons trained in modern employment and personnel methods, including interviewing, rating, placing, and the collection and distribution of information, and must include experts who have the confidence of the several professions. (4) There must be definite provisions for training the office and field force through supervision, staff meetings, conferences, institutes, field work, and courses given both within the system and in coöperation with outside institutions. (5) There must be definite and continuous relations with educational institutions, professional associations, and successful professional practitioners. (6) There must be equally close relations with professional employers and especially with organized personnel departments. (7) There must be both a central information and publicity service and regional services for the purpose of collecting and distributing information to the service and the public. (8) There must be also a central department of planning and research which shall constantly study the operations of the service with the help of regional offices and of special investigators, prepare forms of various kinds including professional "job analyses" and personnel specifications, devise tests of professional abilities and standards of interviewing, make statistical and other studies regarding professional distributions, opportunities, working and living conditions, earnings, promotions, training in service, and so on. (9) There must be some system which shall combine common standards and adequate supervision with

the preservation of local initiative, responsibility, and flexibility.

Of course it will not be possible to work out so comprehensive a system all at once. For a while the wisest policy may be to extend the plan of separate employment bureaus for each profession and to form a league of these bureaus with provision for frequent conference and some sort of common bureau of clearance and information. But even in a loose system, the colleges and professional schools may well be recognized as primarily personnel agencies for the procurement of professional workers; the professional associations as primarily agencies for research, information, and counsel within their respective fields; and the employment bureaus proper as primarily exchanges for information and placement. As regards methods of supporting a cooperative professional employment service, it seems advisable to avoid all suggestion of the fee-charging agency and to provide some system of group membership on the part of institutions, professional associations, and large employers, and different types of individual membership. This method is proving satisfactory in the National Social Workers' Exchange and elsewhere. A well conceived program might receive at least temporary aid from some of the large foundations as a valuable social experiment.

The National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations again took the lead in professional employment matters by calling a conference in New York in January, 1920, to consider the subject of a nation-wide professional employment service, which was attended by men and women representing professional associations and employment services, college, university, and professional school faculties and appointment bureaus, government departments, civic and social and educational organizations. The conference passed resolutions favoring the establishment of such a service with provision for information, research, and training of employment workers, and appointed a committee to prepare a plan of action and to call later a second and larger conference.[1] The new Federation of Business

[1] See *Bulletin of the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations.* February, 1920.

and Professional Women's Clubs and the National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations are likewise deeply interested in professional employment problems. The Central Branch of the Y. W. C. A. in New York has established an Employment Department, under the direction of Miss Eugenia Wallace, which is dealing to a considerable extent with professional workers, and has been elected to membership in the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations. It has made several intensive studies of opportunities for educated women in and about New York.

The securing of professional employment through existing or projected agencies by no means wholly supersedes the older individual methods of direct application by letter or in person; recommendation by teachers, former employers, and friends; advertisement in suitable publications. Women filling our schedules recommend all of these methods, especially in the fields of journalism and the social services. Employment offices do not do away with the need for initiative and independence on the part of applicants; they often suggest one or other of these steps. Perhaps as efficient personnel departments become more generally established in the professions and business, employment offices will fill fewer and fewer direct orders, and will merely advise suitable workers to make their own applications to these departments. To some extent this is happening already. But a professional employment service does away with blind and wasteful individual efforts to secure employment, with letters sent broadcast and weary rounds of visits to the offices of social agencies, newspapers and magazines, and business firms. It prevents the sort of professional helplessness and waiting on chance that is an equivalent of the discredited industrial "waiting at the factory gate." And it should be as valuable a saving of time and energy to employers as to workers. It should also be a powerful influence in diminishing the casual and irresponsible attitude of women toward employment which is so often said to bar them from achieving full professional status and in fostering a just understanding of their qualifications and obligations as professional workers.

CHAPTER XXI

THE COLLEGES AND WOMEN PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

As a result of the war the colleges of liberal arts find themselves in a new position with repect to professional training and the professional interests of their students and graduates. They are beginning to study the whole matter as an educational problem of importance. This is especially true of the colleges independent of graduate and professional schools. But the war services of college men and women and their own earnest efforts to coöperate with the government and to provide intensive training have forced higher institutions of all types to confront the questions: What are the most satisfactory relations between liberal and professional education and between both kinds of education and the professions themselves? How may they coöperate without wasteful separations on the one hand and wasteful encroachments on the other? This chapter undertakes to review the present situation and the steps leading to it with special reference to the institutions educating women. In its larger aspects the problem is the same for institutions educating men.

The detachment of the liberal arts college from professional concerns has for a good many years been more theoretical than actual. It has been yielding gradually and for the most part unconsciously to prevalent ideas of the social and civic as well as the economic responsibility of the liberally educated. This change reveals itself clearly in the education of women because of their recent emergence as wage-earners and citizens; and is of course as yet far from complete. Before the war there were various partial and tentative adjustments of the respective claims of liberal and professional education, some of them frank practical compromises and concessions and none of them fully worked

out on a modern basis. But certain movements and developments particularly in the decade preceding 1917 very definitely prepared the way.

Many universities and special institutions of various types have attempted to combine liberal and professional education. Some have counted the senior year both in the college and in the professional school. Others have established undergraduate schools or courses with professional training in the last two years,—for example, in journalism and in commerce,—or arranged special five-year courses,—for example in nursing and social service. Some institutions carry on liberal and professional education together during a four-year course, as in Simmons College and the Connecticut College for Women. In others, professional education is dominant and liberal subsidiary during the four years, as in the institutes of technology and the agricultural colleges. Smith College is continuing its war-time plan of a summer professional school under the auspices of a college of liberal arts; and this vocational utilization of the summer vacation is a suggestive experiment.

The separate colleges, especially in the east, have for the most part stoutly refused to include courses of an avowedly professional character in the undergraduate curriculum, and have educational and psychological grounds for their position. They have met the rising tide of requests from employers of many sorts and the increasing interest of their students in their own vocational prospects by various extra-curricular provisions of an administrative character, usually connected with the office of president or dean, sometimes with the office of a resident alumni or alumnæ secretary. Faculty bodies, as such, have rarely originated, supervised, or even heartily supported these enterprises; and until recently have looked upon them as almost wholly external to the educational activities of the college. They have made exceptions in favor of teaching, the profession for which the college has traditionally prepared; and individual departments and instructors have always taken a lively interest in the vocational plans and opportunities of their students, present and past.

Before the war, however, two educational movements

had begun to direct faculty attention to vocational problems and to the relations between the college and the professional school. These were, first, the reorganization of the liberal arts curriculum in accordance with the group system of majors, minors, and prerequisite or "sequential" courses; and, second, the requirement by the better professional schools of certain amounts and kinds of undergraduate work as necessary for admission. To the professional schools we owe the term "pre-professional courses" and largely to these two movements the formation of faculty advisory and vocational committees and their study of the pre-professional aspects of the liberal arts curriculum.

The earliest, most widely adopted, and most persistent form of administrative machinery for dealing with vocational matters in the college has been the appointment bureau. But there have been various other vocational developments, some in connection with the appointment bureau, some rather curiously detached from it, such as vocational conferences, vocational counselors, vocational committees of faculty and of students, vocational bulletins. The two kinds of undertaking have represented broadly the placement and the informational or publicity aspects of college vocational efforts. Both, moreover, have passed through several stages or periods which may be outlined here for the sake of showing the elements that go to make up the present situation; and both are likely to find their proper connection through becoming parts of a larger system of professional relations. In reality these periods have not been so sharply separated as here represented, and developments have varied greatly in different institutions and in different parts of the country. Dates are of necessity only approximate.

I. APPOINTMENT BUREAUS

1. The appointment bureau as teachers' bureau. 1895-1910. Coöperation with schools and teachers' agencies.

II. OTHER VOCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. The vocational conference period 1911—.

2. The appointment bureau as bureau of occupations. 1910-1917. Co-operation with other employers and with city bureaus of occupations.

2. The vocational counselor period 1913—.

3. The appointment bureau as war-service bureau. 1917-1919. Coöperation with government and national war-service agencies, including the War Emergency U. S. Employment Service.

3. The war-service registration and intensive training period. 1917-1918. War-service committees of faculty, students, and alumnæ. Coöperation with American Council on Education, National Research Council, etc.

4. The appointment bureau as professional personnel bureau. 1919—. Co-operation with organized personnel departments, bureaus of occupations, and other professional employment bureaus.

4. The faculty vocational guidance committee and pre-professional pamphlet period 1918-1921—.

5. The appointment bureau as local information, publicity, and personnel bureau in a professional employment service taking over placement. 1921—?

5. The professional relations period. 1921— Intercollegiate and inter-professional conferences. Working out of system of professional employment service.
Educational determination of the function of the college with respect to professional training and professional employment.

It is hardly necessary to say that the last entries under both headings represent tendencies and possibilities rather than actual accomplishments. But the colleges have arrived at a stage where they are willing to join with others in studying the whole matter of professional relations and to consider as a problem worthy of educational inquiry the proper rôle of the college and the college appointment bureau in the preparation and distribution of women professional workers. Thus conceived, the study of the problem from the college side falls under faculty jurisdiction, and for its adequate solution involves coöperation with professional schools, professional associations, professional workers and employers, and experts in employment and personnel systems.

When the United States entered the world war in 1917, the colleges, universities, and professional schools placed themselves promptly at the disposal of the government. Registrations of graduates were made to furnish the names and equipment of those available for services; special war-service committees of faculty, students, and graduates were formed; college conferences were held in Washington and elsewhere. Later, various war-service training courses were offered, some of them planned or directed by the government, such as the Food Administration courses and the employment management courses of the War Industries Board; others to meet developing war needs, such as the courses for nurses, for health officers, for psychiatric social workers, for reconstruction aids, for land-army supervisors, to mention those given for women. Late in 1918 the institutions for men were practically taken over by the government to train units of the Students' Army Training Corps.[1] Institutions for both men and women carried on special war-service investigation and research. Certain war-emergency services of the government, such as the Food Administration, established special departments for coöperation with the colleges. Many others were staffed by college professors in constant touch with their own and other institutions. Great professional associations like the

[1] See Parke R. Kolbe. *The Colleges in War Time and After* (1919).

American Medical Association, the American Bar Association, the American Chemical Society, and the various engineering societies, which maintained war-service offices or representatives in Washington, developed a more active interest in professional education and professional schools in view of threatened shortages of workers in their several fields. Other professional associations, such as the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the public health and nursing associations, sponsored intensive training courses given by the colleges. The efforts to establish a country wide professional employment service with the colleges as recruiting offices for workers, begun by the Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau and continued by the Professional Section of the War-Emergency United States Employment Service, have already been described.

Another Washington agency through which the colleges and college organizations coöperated with the government in its war activities was the American Council on Education, established early in 1918 and continuing since the war as a non-governmental information and investigation service and clearing-house for higher educational institutions. In August, 1918, the Council created a Committee on War-Service Training for Women College Students, which has been continued as a standing Committee on the Training of Women for Professional Service, and gives the educational and professional interests of women explicit recognition in the permanent organization and policies of the Council. The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ is a full coöperating member. Higher institutions for both men and women are likewise represented in the new Institute of International Education, originating as a war-time measure under the auspices of the American Council on Education and now carried on with the aid of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to further understanding and active coöperation among American and foreign educational institutions, especially through the exchange of professors and students and the provision of foreign fellowships. The National Research Council, established by the Council of National Defense to coördinate scientific research for war purposes and intimately associated with the colleges and

universities, is continuing and expanding its activities in the interests of peace, and with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation is offering fellowships for advanced research.

In spite of the imperfect, overlapping, and temporary character of some of these war-time undertakings, there is no doubt that they have had a tremendous effect upon the educational institutions concerned. The colleges have taken stock, as never before, of the occupational achievements and distribution of their graduates, not as a mere matter of statistics but in order to contribute their quotas to the trained man-power and woman-power required in a great national and international enterprise. They have found a new meaning in the old formal truth that the real test of an educational institution lies in the kind of educated persons that it sends out and their contribution to the life and work of their day. As a result, it may not be long before they will come to consider committees on the careers of their graduates quite as important as committees on admission, and will study successful and unsuccessful careers with equal care. It has sometimes been whispered that the college "scrap-heap" is unduly large. The alumnæ association of a large college for women, issuing a biographical register of graduates, has been considering the advisability of including an "occupational index" giving the names and addresses of women in the several fields of work. For the first time the colleges have thought of themselves as component parts of a single great national service supplying the expert leadership in production, research, administration, public affairs of all sorts, which is even more requisite for an enduring and progressive peace than it is for war. They have learned at least the first lessons of acting with one another, with the government, with national and international agencies for education and research, with the various professional organizations, with all the constructive forces of the community. They have begun to grasp the fact that education is not a process moving only in one direction and ceasing on the day of graduation but a continuous social activity returning upon and reconstituting itself.

The government, the world of industrial and commercial

affairs, and the professions themselves have also learned many lessons from their coöperation with one another and with the colleges and professional schools. They have gained a new respect for higher education as an "essential industry," and have seen clearly for the first time the absolute dependence of all large-scale modern enterprise upon the professional expert and the absolute dependence of the professional expert upon the right sort of facilities for education and research. They have seen, too, even more clearly than the colleges themselves, that in order to provide these facilities there must be the closest reciprocal relations among the three groups most intimately concerned with the supply of professional workers: those directing important enterprises of any kind; those directing the educational preparation of professional workers; those directing professional associations. Research laboratories and research bureaus in industry and commerce work with university laboratories and departments or depute to them certain investigations. Employers of professional workers of every type are drafting "personnel specifications" and submitting them to colleges and professional schools, to show the kind of workers they require. College professors are lent to the government, to social and business organizations for special investigations. It has been suggested that government departments establish research fellowships. Professional organizations are recognizing that the days of exclusiveness and mutual suspicion are over; that practically all large undertakings require the closest professional "teamwork"; that every profession has active and continuing obligations to other professions, to the public, and to the whole matter of professional education. In fact, education is coming to be recognized as the pivotal professional problem, education in terms of students and workers rather than in terms merely of professional subject-matter and professional standards, important as these must always remain. Modern organizations of all sorts are establishing not only research bureaus but personnel departments and educational departments with provision for the training of workers in service; and they are calling upon the colleges for directors of such departments, and are reporting back to the colleges

their findings with regard to young college and professional school graduates. Such active educational relations cannot fail to emphasize the continuous nature of professional education; that the professions are dependent upon the colleges and professional schools and that these are equally dependent upon the professions. Professional organizations are learning that their educational obligations are fundamental and not incidental. The Inter-professional Conference held in Detroit late in 1919 has already been described. (See pp. 6-7.)

The problem of the relations of the professions in their organized form to educational institutions has two aspects: (1) relations of the several professions to their own professional schools; (2) relations of the various professions and professional schools to the colleges of liberal arts. The first is a matter of professional education proper; the second is a matter of what we are coming to call pre-professional education. While the two are undeniably related, the first part of the problem is easier to solve and is nearer solution than the second part. There are increasingly intimate relations between the employers of professional workers and the schools training these workers; and experts in every professional field are estimating with increasing care and sense of responsibility the yearly output of young graduates into that field. There are visiting and advisory committees of employers and experts; there are arrangements for observation and practice; there are prospects of a year of interneship becoming the custom in several fields besides that of medicine.

In the colleges of liberal arts satisfactory contacts with professional associations, professional schools, and individual professional experts are much more difficult to provide. The colleges have abundant justification for holding fast to the idea of liberal education, although even yet most of them have not reformulated it frankly in modern terms; and they naturally do not wish to become merely the stamping ground of rival professions. They may as well admit, however, that just that thing has been going on in some cases under their very noses, and will continue to go on until they bring the whole matter of their relations

to the professions out into the open, and make it the subject of serious educational consideration. Professor Frederick J. E. Woodbridge has been quoted as saying recently that the colleges must decide whether they are to be conducted as ends in themselves or as stages in a process. The whole trend of recent events and of modern thinking renders the first position untenable; but there is still much to be done before the colleges are prepared to maintain the second satisfactorily.

Nevertheless, their various vocational developments prior to the war and during the war have made substantial contributions to the solution of their part of the professional relations problem. The college appointment bureau has been described as passing through the stages of teachers' bureau, occupations bureau, and war-service bureau. To-day it shows signs of becoming a professional personnel and information bureau with an increasing emphasis upon the distribution of information and a diminishing emphasis upon actual placement. It is continuing to a considerable extent its war-time connections with outside personnel, employment, and information services, and is supplying to them on the one hand information regarding the graduates and students of the college and to the college community on the other hand information regarding professional fields, requirements, and opportunities. In the organization of any nation-wide system of professional employment service, the college appointment bureau would become an indispensable local agency for the collection of that full personal information about its graduates which the college alone can supply, for the preliminary recruiting of young workers, and for the dissemination among students through every channel at its command of authentic and current professional information, supplied through the information division of the service as a whole. It would, however, be largely relieved of its present function of placement, which is, and must be from the nature of the college as an educational institution, its weakest point, since it is without facilities for field studies of opportunities, or for following up placements, and can properly deal only with the employers who request its services unsolicited. These and other

employers, moreover, will greatly prefer to deal with a regional or central employment office where they may consider information from the various colleges collectively instead of dealing with each college independently. Colleges in Cleveland and Pittsburgh already do the bulk of their placement work for women through the bureaus of occupations in those cities.

Relieved of the placement responsibilities which have been forced upon it in default of a better system, and which it has never been able to meet adequately, the college appointment bureau has a chance to develop in other directions, to overcome certain earlier limitations, and to become an executive office correlating and carrying out professional policies and procedures of the college, as the board of admissions carries out the policies and procedures governing entrance.

The two most serious handicaps of the appointment bureau in the past have been first, its lack of contact with employers, professional workers, and full professional information—in other words, with the occupational world outside of the college; and, second, its lack of contact with faculty and students, in other words, with the educational world inside of the college. The first handicap was lessened to a considerable extent in the decade before the war through the establishment of the twelve city bureaus of occupations for trained women by or with the coöperation of organizations of college graduates, although the relations between these bureaus and adjacent appointment bureaus were more or less indefinite and sometimes competitive. The second handicap was being reduced through the increasing attention paid by both college faculties and professional schools to the grouping of courses within the undergraduate curriculum. Such groupings inevitably pointed forward to certain professional fields and certain types of professional training, whether so intended or not. In some institutions vocational committees of the faculty and vocational committees of students both came into existence before the war. In others, they were due to the heightened vocational demands of the war itself. In both groups the war deepened and widened interest, and brought the appointment bureau from a minor into a strategic position. In this connection it may be ob-

served that appointment bureau development has followed somewhat different lines in the east and in the west, where the position of the state university as the apex of the state educational system has related it so intimately to the schools that many appointment bureaus have had their hands full with the recommendation of teachers and are still predominantly teachers' bureaus.

Even to-day colleges are establishing appointment bureaus, and too often uncritically along the old lines.[1] But certain new policies and tendencies may be noted: e.g., to appoint advisory or supervisory committees of the faculty, advisory committees of alumnæ active in the professions or expert in professional employment, coöperating committees of students; to give the secretary or director of the appointment bureau a seat on the faculty, with or without a vote. The policy of making the director a full voting member of the faculty represents the most thorough-going recognition of the educational function of the appointment bureau, but is probably still in advance of our thinking. It calls for a thoroughly equipped person as director, a specialist in educational and vocational psychology and in the problems of professional personnel and employment, with unusual ability as organizer and leader in a new field. Such a person would develop an appointment bureau, no longer properly so called, into a bureau of professional relations, including a laboratory for professional testing and investigation and a professional information and consulting service. Such a bureau should be part of the general advisory system of the college, preferably a subdivision of the office of a dean whose main functions are those of advising students educationally rather than formally. Where each department has appointed an adviser, the dean might well serve as chairman of an advisory committee made up of these representatives and the director of the appointment bureau. Vocational problems in the college need to be dealt with in the light of other educational problems; departmental advising needs to be liberalized in

[1] A study of their organization and position in various institutions was made late in 1918 by the Harvard Appointment Bureau, itself one of the best.

the same way. It is too often exclusive and competitive.

Oberlin College has placed at the head of its appointment bureau a professor of psychology who is inaugurating vocational testing, and who during the war was in the army psychological service. Teachers College of Columbia University has changed the name of its bureau to Bureau of Educational Service, with a psychologist as director. Some of the newer bureaus are directly under faculty control, and there is a tendency to use the name bureau of recommendations rather than the name appointment bureau as more indicative of the function of the college with reference to employment. This has long been done by certain institutions. It has already been said that during the autumn of 1919 two sectional intercollegiate conferences of college appointment bureaus were held.

The year 1910 marks the beginning of the bureaus of occupations period. In that year, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union established the pioneer bureau, and the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ created its standing committee on vocational opportunities other than teaching. This new interest manifested itself in the colleges in the provision of addresses by outside experts in different fields, developing before long into definite vocational conferences. These were arranged sometimes by the appointment bureau, sometimes by the dean; and their history shows them falling increasingly under the management of organizations of students,—councils and leagues, self-government associations, the Young Women's Christian Association, special vocational committees. They have frequently involved the coöperation of neighboring bureaus of occupations, and of branches of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. The first series of this sort seems to have been arranged at Cornell University in 1911 by Dr. Gertrude S. Martin, then adviser of women in that institution and now executive secretary of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. The University of Wisconsin inaugurated vocational conferences for its women students as long ago as 1912. The College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts of the University of Montana has held "vocational congresses" for women since 1913, attended by delegates from the high schools of the

state, whose expenses have been met by local women's clubs. Its activity in this respect is exceptional, since the state vocational colleges have been for the most part negligent of the special interests of their women students. The University of Michigan has abandoned the policy of an annual conference of two or three days' duration in favor of monthly conferences with a single topic and a speaker who stays long enough to meet students in personal interviews. The eastern colleges for women have held vocational conferences more or less regularly for a number of years, with outside speakers representing both their own alumnæ and other professional workers. Of late they have commonly been planned as a series of sectional and round-table meetings, and provision has been made for individual interviews with speakers. In 1917 a movement was inaugurated by the students of Wheaton College in Massachusetts for intercollegiate undergraduate conferences on vocational opportunities for women. Two of these have been held at Wheaton; the third was held at Radcliffe; the fourth in March, 1920, at Cornell University, the fifth in November, 1920, at the University of Pittsburgh. They have been attended by delegates from the undergraduate bodies of the colleges educating women, and have been addressed by a number of distinguished persons.[1]

The inadequacies of the annual or sporadic vocational conference, except as a means of arousing interest and furnishing preliminary information, were early recognized; and those interested set about providing students with opportunities for more continuous and specific vocational information and guidance. These efforts for some years took the form of arrangements for visiting or resident vocational advisers or counselors. The first undertaking of the kind was the coöperative plan between the Appointment Bureau of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and a number of the New England colleges for women, launched in 1913, whereby the director, Miss Florence Jackson, made regular visits to the colleges to speak on specific occupations and to confer with students. Mount Holyoke and Wellesley

[1] These conferences are reported in *Education* and the *Journal of Education*.

have continued this coöperative arrangement, and other colleges have participated. Since the establishment of the Chicago Collegiate Bureau of Occupations in 1913, its manager, Miss Helen Bennett, has similarly served as visiting vocational counselor for a group of middle-western institutions; and managers of more recently established bureaus have followed suit. Resident vocational counselors have been appointed by several western institutions, giving all or part of their time to consultation with women students on the subject of their vocational plans and problems. These counselors have sometimes been members of the faculty, who still do some teaching, as at Oberlin College, which appointed such an officer in 1912; sometimes members of the administrative staff, as at the University of Wisconsin; sometimes especially appointed for this work, as at the University of Minnesota. They have been distinct from the appointment bureau, though coöperating with it; and have done no direct placement. Their function has been that of organizing and disseminating vocational information of all kinds, arranging for lectures and conferences, and giving the wisest possible vocational assistance to students both collectively and individually. Their relations to the faculty have been various; but they have frequently had the assistance of faculty committees; and they have suffered less from isolation from both educational and professional activities than have those in charge of appointment bureaus. Of sixty-nine colleges educating women, replying in 1919 to an inquiry by the Committee on Vocational Opportunities of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, only eight reported no provision for vocational guidance of students. Twenty out of eighty-two so replied in 1917. There is evident a marked tendency toward putting the general supervision of vocational guidance into the hands of college deans, an indication of its growing educational importance. Eleven colleges reported regularly appointed vocational advisers or counselors, as against four in 1917. Nine of these advisers are members of the faculty; seven do some teaching. Only two give full time to the guidance work. There is closer coöperation between vocational advisers and appointment bureaus than

formerly. Two advisers are in charge of these bureaus; five have advisory relations; two have no connection; and in two cases there is no appointment bureau.

Vocational guidance in the colleges is part of the larger movement for vocational guidance of young people in the schools and in early occupational life.[1] The National Society for Vocational Guidance coöperates with the National Society for Vocational Education. Harvard University maintains a Vocational Guidance Bureau as part of its new Graduate School of Education; and a number of institutions, including Harvard, Boston University, Columbia University, the University of California, and the University of Pittsburgh have given regular, extension, or summer courses on vocational guidance for the benefit chiefly of teachers and others having to do with the direction of young people. A certain disrepute into which the term has fallen is due to the newness of the movement, a general uncertainty as to both principles and methods, and the fact that many have undertaken it without training and without access to necessary sources of information. There has been, moreover, a sound feeling that the personal direction of human beings toward given careers is at best a difficult and delicate business. All these limitations have existed in college vocational guidance; but they are likely to pass, with the name, when the thing which it stands for becomes incorporated into a larger system of professional relations inside and outside of the college. Meanwhile, the most hopeful step was taken when the faculty as a body began to consider the vocational bearings and relations of the undergraduate curriculum, to cooperate actively with existing vocational agencies in the college, and even to accept final responsibility for the whole matter. A growing number of higher institutions are experimenting with "life-career" or "orientation" courses, given in the freshman or sophomore year. There seems a place for a more advanced course on occupations and the social order. Many high schools are giving "occupations" courses.

The past three years have seen the appearance of four

[1] See Anna Y. Reed. *Junior Wage Earners* (1920).

important bulletins on the pre-professional aspects of the college curriculum, three prepared by faculty vocational committees, one by an appointment bureau in close coöperation with the faculty. In April, 1918, Wellesley College issued a pamphlet entitled *Occupations Towards Which Wellesley Courses May Lead;* in May of the same year Oberlin College issued a bulletin entitled *Vocational Advice for College Students;* in October, 1919 (dated June), Leland Stanford Junior University issued a bulletin entitled succinctly *Vocational Information,* prepared by the faculty committee on vocational guidance and the most complete thing of the kind. In the spring of 1921 Vassar College issued a bulletin entitled *The Relation of Vassar Courses to Vocational Opportunities.* The Oberlin bulletin is enlivened by letters of advice from professional workers and employers in the various fields. It arranges the professions alphabetically, giving under each: (1) pre-professional courses offered at Oberlin, with a signed statement from a professor in the department chiefly concerned; (2) professional courses (at Oberlin or elsewhere); (3) letters of advice regarding the profession from graduates and others of prominence; (4) selected bibliography with entries marked if in the Oberlin library or appointment bureau. This and the Leland Stanford bulletin should be of special value to the eastern colleges for women, for purposes of comparison, since they give information for both men and women students in other parts of the country.

Other institutions are preparing bulletins for their students and leaflet material on courses useful as a background for special professions, such as the University of California folder on journalism. The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ appointed in 1919 a special committee on pre-professional courses, to render a report in 1921. A committee on professional specifications for women is needed. At least one of the women's colleges has made at the request of its board of trustees a careful study by a faculty committee of the vocational aspects of its curriculum. The report of this committee considers: (1) occupations for which undergraduate courses directly prepare, as indicated by the records of the appointment bureau; (2) occupations or pro-

fessions for which the college course provides indirect or partial preparation; (3) college courses accepted by professional and technical schools either for entrance or for advanced standing. Another college for women is making a study of every department of instruction in coöperation with outside experts and representatives of the alumnæ and the public.

The duties of the Leland Stanford faculty committee on vocational guidance, which was appointed as far back as 1913, are thus defined: "To coöperate with the departments of the university: (a) In studying the vocations which are open to graduates of the University and the kinds of training needed by those who enter these vocations; (b) in disseminating among students the information necessary to make an intelligent choice of a vocation and to arrange a course of study preparatory to entering the vocation chosen." This committee of six includes representatives of various departments, the dean of women, and the appointment secretary. It appoints sub-committees as needed. Each member assumes special responsibility for a certain group of vocations, and students interested in these fields are asked to consult this particular member. Every student is asked at registration about his or her vocational interests or plans. The plan of establishing advisory committees of the faculty for the several professional fields seems worthy of extension. Similar committees of experienced alumnæ likewise seem desirable. In some institutions one member of each department is appointed a special consultant on vocational matters connected with that department.

To bring these various forms of pre-professional assistance clearly and comprehensively before students, their essential points may well appear in the college catalogue or course of study bulletin instead of in separate pamphlets: a brief statement under each department of the pre-professional bearings of its courses; specific announcements regarding faculty vocational committees, vocational advisers, the appointment bureau, collections of printed vocational material, student vocational organizations and activities. It may not be long before all colleges will require a pre-

liminary statement of professional interests or intentions, positive or negative, before the end of the sophomore year, when major groups of studies are chosen.

Meanwhile, the colleges are dealing with increasing system, effectiveness, and understanding of student psychology with the difficult problem of providing information on professional matters, although they are coming to see that it is a problem beyond their power or obligation to solve without outside coöperation. They are maintaining special collections of vocational books, pamphlets, catalogues, periodicals, and clippings, in the college library or elsewhere; they are using undergraduate and alumnæ publications for vocational announcements and articles, vocational bulletin-boards and even vocational posters. They receive and distribute printed information from such sources as the New York Bureau of Vocational Information, the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations, the federal and state civil-service commissions, the personnel departments of business and social organizations, as well as information about professional schools and courses. In all these efforts they are valiantly aided by student organizations and student vocational committees, and have learned not a little from the effective publicity methods devised by students for their own activities. One of the most valuable things done by Miss Florence Jackson in her early days as visiting vocational counselor in various New England colleges was the creation of coöperating student committees charged with the duty of looking after college vocational publicity. There is a real need, to-day, however, of coördinating student vocational efforts. Organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association, the Student Volunteers, the Consumers' League, the Intercollegiate Community Service, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, maintain vocational and membership committees, distribute literature, and conduct study courses in happy but wasteful independence of one another. These groups should all coöperate with a central vocational committee, representing not special student interests but the entire student body.

Through all these different vocational activities, carried on more and more as related expressions of a conscious

educational policy, the colleges are learning their distinctive function in an organized system of professional relations. Admitting that they are necessarily stages in a process, they are beginning to perceive that the liberal arts curriculum, without ceasing to be liberal, is at the same time inevitably pre-professional. The two conceptions of college education are merely different aspects of the same thing. In order that the individual may be liberally educated in an adequate and generous sense of the term, the college must both cultivate his mind and personality and indicate the directions in which he may contribute productively to the life of his generation and his community. Neither purpose can be satisfactorily achieved without the other; and the college is uniquely equipped to achieve both. But since its concern is always with young people and their enfranchisement through coming to understand themselves, their resources, and their opportunities, the college cannot also take upon itself the burden of their direct technical equipment for professions and their actual employment as professional workers. Neither can it divert its energies and its resources to the accumulation of detailed and continuous information concerning professional training and professional occupations. These are the contributions to be made by other members of the professional system. The professional contribution of the college is three-fold: an intimate and first-hand knowledge of the personal and intellectual characteristics of its students and graduates, carefully recorded; provision for their preliminary professional enlightenment and orientation; the supplying of prospective professional workers. Actual recruiting is not a function of the college.[1]

[1] The war has taught employers to use them in this way. One of the eastern colleges for women reports that during the spring of 1919 the college was visited by representatives of the employment department of a large department store, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, the War Camp Community Service, the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Land Army of America, a large reformatory for women, and various teachers' agencies, who requested the opportunity of addressing students on their respective fields. There is need of a system of handling these appeals. As they now come, they are a burden to the college and a distraction to the students.

CHAPTER XXII

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR WOMEN PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

THIS final chapter is not a summary of the book but a set of informal suggestions and injunctions addressed first of all to young women thinking seriously of becoming professional workers and to young women in the early years of occupational life who are asking themselves: What next? It is hoped, however, that it may not be without some value to experienced professional workers, to those educating young people both in the colleges and in the professional schools, to employers of these young people, and to all who are candidly and courageously facing the professional problems of the present day. The future of every profession depends upon the quality of its new recruits and upon the kind of liberal education and professional training that they receive.

The first thing for young women to keep in mind is that some intelligent consideration of what they propose to do after finishing their college course is nowadays an integral part of liberal education itself. To arrive at the middle or the end of the senior year without thinking of themselves as prospective workers of some sort is to confess that they are not liberally educated in any true sense of the term. To think and to act liberally mean to be free both from the pinch of necessity and the pinch of convention. The last semester scramble for a "job" reflects no credit upon an institution nor upon its students.

When, then, should a student begin to think of herself as a prospective worker? Some young women come to college with pretty definite ideas of what they want to be, and a few are steadfast to these aims throughout their course. But the great majority have been so much absorbed in the business of college preparation, and after

they are once in college, are so deeply absorbed in college life itself, that they give little attention to the seemingly remote prospects of what they are to do after leaving college. This is undoubtedly truer of the eastern colleges for women than it is of western institutions; and it is of course truer of women students everywhere than it is of men. College education is, and should be, an engrossing enterprise; but in these days no college is dealing fairly by its students if it turns them out as occupational innocents into the complex and competitive experiences of modern life. The college should invite the attention of its students to the subject of preliminary professional choices not later than the second half of the sophomore year when they are beginning to plan their junior and senior courses and to choose "groups" and major subjects. If college authorities take no active steps in this direction, students should consider independently at this time the various fields of professional endeavor and the relations to them of the rest of the course.

It is essential, however, for both college authorities and students to remember that these mid-college professional choices or preferences are preliminary and tentative, to be tested by the academic work and the "outside activities" of the last two years. The importance of such preliminary choices is based upon the view already advanced that any adequate liberal education in the modern sense must be both cultural and pre-professional, looking not only to the development of the individual but to the contribution that he or she may make to the life of the times. From this point of view neither of these aims can be attained without regard for the other; and a laissez-faire policy has no more psychological justification in education than it has in economics. To accomplish its purpose, the pre-professional motive must be considered as genuinely educational as any other motive, although it must not be pushed to the exclusion of other motives. In the later years of the college course intellectual, social, and æsthetic interests should fill the reservoirs of personality upon which all fruitful work and all rewarding leisure perennially depend.

It is not easy to say just how these undergraduate pre-

professional choices may best be made and their meaning brought to the attention of students; but it is a safe general principle that just so far as possible students should be put in the way of making them themselves, and should be assisted chiefly through the provision of a continuous supply of authentic and up-to-date vocational information and through a clear indication of the bearings of their undergraduate courses upon professional training proper.

At Leland Stanford Junior University students are asked the following questions at registration: "(1) If you have decided upon a vocation which you have decided to make your life work, please state what it is as definitely as possible. (2) Would you like assistance in arranging a course of study preparatory to the above vocation? (3) If you have made no choice of a vocation, would you like assistance in reaching a decision? (4) If you wish information about any vocation, please indicate which ones."[1] The university records extending back several years show "that about 70 per cent of the students have made a definite choice of vocation when they enter, and 15 per cent make the choice soon after entering. The records also show that a large percentage of those who have not made a definite choice drop out of the University in the first two years." These figures are for a student body made up of men and women. Figures for women students only would not show so many nor so early vocational selections.

In addition to published statements pointing out the pre-professional aspects of the curriculum, the colleges are undertaking to provide current vocational information in the various ways described in the last chapter. Undergraduates, therefore, are increasingly able to make wise and informed pre-professional decisions.

An important element in such decisions is a just estimate of personal fitness and aptitude. Many things in college life help students to measure themselves by both objective and subjective standards. Academic standing, though undergraduates affect to despise it, furnishes an impartial and on the whole satisfactory measure of both general and special intellectual ability. Careers of Phi Beta Kappa stu-

[1] *Vocational Information.* Bulletin, June, 1919.

dents dispose of that easy consolation of the laggard that valedictorians are never heard of afterwards.[1] The general intelligence tests now coming into wide academic use offer a valuable basis of judgment, and on the whole reinforce the evidence of marks and the estimates of teachers and fellow students. Tests of special ability and the drafting of personnel specifications for professional employments promise concrete assistance in determining individual suitability for given lines of work. And in various practical and informal ways college life tests a student's spirit, pluck, capacity for leadership and "teamwork," ability to hold steady under pressure, and to keep her balance under adulation and flattery. While no confidence is to be placed in the numerous popular and widely advertised methods of determining personal fitness for an occupation through facial contour, coloring, texture of skin, and possession or lack of long lists of specific qualities, there are certain general questions that students and others making vocational choices may well ask themselves honestly. Perhaps the most important is: Do I like to deal, and am I fitted to deal successfully primarily with people or with things? Do I prefer to coöperate with, plan for, and adjust human beings in my daily work or to concern myself with materials and processes, figures and other symbols, facts, ideas, systems and programs? Nearly every one can tell in a broad way in which type of activities she is more genuinely interested and to which she can give her mind and energy with less friction and exhaustion. Some people are drained by steady human contacts; some people shrivel without them. Some can do their best work in solitude; some under the stimulus of coöperation and discussion. The two types of activity are not rigidly separated, and many people would say that they like now one sort of thing, now the other. But there is a real distinction between the type of person who is likely to succeed as a social case worker, a personnel worker, a field supervisor, a teacher of young people, and the type of person who is likely to succeed as a laboratory or research worker, a statistician, a

[1] See H. A. Hollingworth. *Vocational Psychology* (1917), especially Chapters 5, 9, 10.

library cataloguer, an engineer, a scientific manager. In an article on "Intelligence and Its Uses,"[1] Professor Edward L. Thorndike says that for practical purposes it is sufficient to examine for three "intelligences" which may or may not be combined in one person,—mechanical intelligence, social intelligence, and abstract intelligence. "By abstract intelligence is meant the ability to understand and manage ideas and symbols, such as words, numbers, chemical or physical formulæ, legal decisions, scientific laws and principles, and the like. Mechanical intelligence and social intelligence refer to thought and action directly concerned with actual things and persons in one's hands and before one's eyes." General intelligence tests and college work measure the first type of intelligence particularly. Tests of special ability and actual occupations measure the two other types as well.

Another fundamental question is: Am I naturally a leader or a follower? Do I shrink from responsibility, or am I exhilarated by it? Do I hold steady and think quickly, or do I tend to go to pieces in emergencies? A related question is: Am I self-confident or self-depreciatory? Am I made unhappy and distrustful by even moderate group censure, or do I like maintaining my own position and winning others to it? Am I capable of intellectual give-and-take and of working out a policy or program with others? Another: Do I prefer to make plans or to carry them out? Am I what is called an idea-executive or a detail-executive? Do I find satisfaction in arranging and organizing details, or am I impatient of them, or likely to be swamped by them? A question too often overlooked in choosing a profession is: How do I like best to employ my leisure? These questions might be multiplied. Answers are of course not final, but may usefully make clear characteristics and tendencies that certain professions will reinforce, certain other professions diminish and repress. To what extent their modification is desirable for success and happiness in a profession is a matter to be settled for each individual case.

Since the choice of a profession is a serious matter, and

[1] *Harper's Magazine.* January, 1920.

professional work is a form of concrete behavior, the "feel" of which cannot be attained even by much thinking, there are many things to be said in favor of "trying oneself out" experimentally before coming to a final decision and before finishing the undergraduate course. Short vacations may be used for observation trips and sojourns in order to learn a little of the surroundings and conditions of various forms of professional work. Students have spent these vacations in settlement houses, psychopathic hospitals, children's homes, reformatories for women, as substitute or extra clerks in department stores. But the summer vacation provides the best opportunity for actual work of an experimental and pre-professional nature. No physically and mentally vigorous person, not exhausted by heavy responsibility, needs more than a month's vacation. Millions of workers younger than college students consider themselves lucky if they get two weeks. Men college students have used their summers in this way for some time, especially students looking forward to forestry and engineering. The Young Men's Christian Association has recently launched a "Make your summer count" campaign.[1] College women before the war were somewhat timorous and conservative in this matter of vacation work. But experience as operatives in munitions plants and as clerical drudges in government departments has brought them new courage and insight; and the undergraduates of to-day are taking summer positions as operatives in factories, as saleswomen in department stores, as clerks in offices, as helpers in vacation camps and playgrounds, quite as a matter of course. No longer is the post of counselor in a camp for the children of the well to do their only conception of summer work. Moreover, some progressive employers are working out arrangements for taking on promising young college men and women for successive summers and "rotating" them through the several departments in order to find out their aptitudes and to give them an understanding of the enterprise as a whole. It is not unlikely that before long the colleges will have agreements with selected employers through which students recommended by their professors

[1] See pp. 168-171.

and by the college health authorities will be nominated for these positions at an apprentice wage, and that such a trial working experience will be considered of definite educational value and will be eagerly coveted. The practicability of such arrangements varies greatly in different fields. They are quite possible in many industries, offices, department stores, and banks. They have likewise been tried by social agencies, health laboratories, and county farm bureaus. In medicine, law, and nursing, students gain a preliminary acquaintance with the profession only through clerical, laboratory, or social-work positions. With the growth of health centers, there may be opportunity for more numerous preliminary contacts with the medical and nursing professions. But whether students secure these summer positions through coöperative arrangements or through their own individual efforts, they should keep well in mind that such experiences are not substitutes for professional training but only what may be called "finders" for both the worker and the profession.

After these pre-professional decisions and experiences, young women leaving college should be clear in their own minds as to what professions they desire and are qualified to enter. Then comes the question of actual professional training. Shall they begin a professional course at once, or shall they test themselves further through subordinate positions in the field of their choice or elsewhere in the working world? To what extent can they achieve genuine professional training and standing through positions of an apprentice or learner type without specialized professional study? Answers to these questions vary greatly according to the profession chosen, the nature and length of the preparation required for it; they also vary according to the character and circumstances of the individual worker. But it is fair to say that to attain full professional status college women should take an explicitly professional course either immediately after leaving college or within a very few years. Professional training is in many cases so prolonged and arduous, professional practice calls so loudly for vigor and energy and adaptability that no woman should defer beginning her professional

work until her strength and spirits begin to flag. People attain maturity at very different ages, and what we are pleased to call youth is a matter of attitude rather than of years; but women should commonly look forward to professional practice by the time that they are thirty. The objections that used to be advanced against immediate entrance upon professional preparation on the ground that it unduly prolongs a receptive and docile attitude of mind and tends to entangle students in "the snare of preparation," lose much of their force in face of the present tendency in the colleges to encourage independent thinking and initiative and in face of the preliminary working experiences described above. Yet it is well to keep in mind that people of narrow and limited human outlook are not likely to be adequate professional workers. In the case of medicine and nursing, it is undoubtedly wise to begin professional training as soon as possible. In the case of teaching, a year or two of experience will probably reveal to the young teacher how far she is really suited to the profession and how greatly she needs training of a kind that the college is in no sense qualified to give. It is unfortunate that she often learns her professional lessons at the expense of the children she teaches; and this should be guarded against so far as possible. In the case of law with its new social and political call to women, some social contacts with the legal problems of small wage-earners, the legal difficulties and dangers of women and girls and children will undoubtedly give purpose to professional study and a clue through legal intricacies. In scientific work, service as laboratory technicians soon reveals that graduate study is needed to raise the work done to professional rank. In commerce and industry, a certain amount of working experience, if not secured before graduation, may be necessary to show that a routine skill such as stenography, typing, or filing is not enough to enable women to deal professionally with the large problems of modern production and distribution. Astute secretaries soon discover that in addition to secretarial techniques, they require a comprehensive knowledge of some given field in order to occupy anything more than a semi-professional limbo. The swarms of young women

now clamoring to become employment managers on the ground that they have always liked people are the despair of professional workers in this new field, who lament the by-products of publicity. In social work, the multiplicity of needs and the futility of individual efforts force the social worker to professional study of the relations of preventive and remedial work and to the acquirement of professional principles and techniques.

The college woman who after graduation takes a position without further training will, if she is professionally minded, not look upon her work, whatever it may be, as a mere "stop-gap" performance, either between college and professional training or between college and marriage. She will keep her professional aim alive, and will bend her present work to that end. However unlike it may seem, she will squeeze out of it some drops of knowledge or experience to nourish that aim. The war has shown us the value of "substitute" and "allied" occupational experiences, if they are intelligently interpreted and used. And as soon as she sees her way clear, she will seize the opportunity for definite professional training. Fortunately, nowadays all good training involves a considerable amount of supervised practice work.

A word needs to be said about professional courage; and just now this is not a purely academic virtue for women. In many fields they are meeting a definite reaction from the temporary professional hospitalities of the war; and during the next few years they will need to exercise steadiness and pluck. They will have to learn not to ask nor to expect any concessions whatever on the grounds that they are women, nor even sometimes on the grounds that they are human, since any weakness is likely to be considered feminine. They will have to expect to be judged even more rigorously than young men of the same education doing similar work, and to breathe an atmosphere of being on trial. And as comparative newcomers they will have to fight their own diffidence in refusing to accept as a general law the assumption that women irrespective of their abilities should always occupy subordinate professional positions. This assumption is breaking down; but

it will become obsolete only when women themselves decline to acquiesce in it, and persistently take the stand that they expect to be judged on their professional merits and to share professional responsibilities. It still obtains markedly in the sciences and in government services. With the extension of systems of promotion based on tests and ratings this stalling of competent women in lower positions will be greatly diminished.

Professional courage needs to be shown also in refusing to tolerate undesirable working conditions and in breaking away from positions that are unsatisfactory and have little professional outlook. Young women who have been at work for several years after leaving college especially need to look themselves and their professional future squarely in the face and to ask what is the professionally desirable next step—to take some time for further study, to seek a better position in the same field, or to consider some other field. There is not infrequently a period of discouragement and timidity for a woman who finds herself after several years in what is practically a professional "blind-alley" position or occupation. Fortunately, there is an increasing number of professional occupation bureaus and employment services to assist her in making needed professional readjustments.

No less important is the essentially professional courage of persistence, of sticking at a piece of work and seeing it through. One of the charges brought against women is that of their occupational restlessness and instability. This is far more true of women in "stop-gap" occupations, who teach for a few years, or do clerical work for a few years, than it is of professional women. There is considerable easy generalization from one group applied to the other. But professional women need to be on their guard against this danger and to remember that one of the marks of a profession is that it is a permanent and serious calling. An official in a great corporation notably friendly to the employment of college women says: "I think that perhaps . . . it would be good advice to trained women going into business to recognize that it is still substantially a pioneer movement and that they can help themselves and those who

will follow them by persisting in the fields which they enter, having patience to develop them in a satisfactory way. This remark is not made because of any unsatisfactory experience on our part, but rather because I have noted a certain roving tendency among a number of college women."

Women have also hitherto lacked professional courage in respect to standing out for salaries equal to those of men of the same training doing equivalent work. This is a defect common to all newly group-conscious workers. But the difficulty is less serious for brain workers than for hand workers; and there is no inherent impossibility of measuring objectively the respective professional achievements of men and women. It is fairly done in a number of instances. The matter of equal salaries is not so simple as it looks, and it is not enough simply to repeat the "slogan" of "equal pay for equal work," since employers find it easy to make their own definitions of the word equal. Women must insist upon scientific estimates and not upon conventional generalizations; and they must likewise not expect equal pay for work that is not really equal.

Another respect in which women are prone to show a lack of professional financial courage and professional group spirit and ethical sense is in their readiness to accept salaries below professional levels and even below a living wage on the strength of being at or near home, in congenial surroundings, and so on. Such an attitude is on a par with that of the mythical industrial worker for "pin-money," who now seems to exist chiefly in the imagination of the employer paying low wages. It is perfectly fair of course for a professional woman to do part work for part pay, but to accept privileges and perquisites in lieu of the salary normally attaching to a post is to depress the pay of her successor and indirectly of all workers in the field. Teachers and librarians are perhaps the worst sinners in this respect, and remind us that in the professions prestige, privilege, and convenience still sometimes rule instead of economic justice.

In fact, all women going into professional occupations need to keep steadily in mind that no true professional

worker can be, by the very definition of the term, an individualist. Professional workers are under obligations to their fellow workers, present and future, and they are under obligations to render public service. Women need to strengthen in every possible way their sense of professional pride and professional responsibility. To this end they should seek membership in professional clubs and associations, and should play an active part in them. Whether these associations should be of both men and women or of women alone will depend upon the given professional situation. The question has been discussed in Chapter II. In many professions it is no doubt desirable for women to belong to both types—to women's for the sake of a fuller opportunity to participate in the forming and carrying out of policies, to men's for the sake of their broader professional scope and emphasis of joint professional action. The single association for both men and women workers is certainly the ideal.

All that has been said of the importance of courage and staying power and the maintenance of professional standards does not mean that women should enter professional life in any spirit of jealousy or antagonism towards professional men. The difficult professional problems of the day can be successfully confronted and dealt with only by men and women working together fairly and coöperatively. The world needs more acutely than ever before professional workers distributing their efforts where they are most needed, not mutually hostile and suspicious men and women. The rabid feminist or anti-feminist, whether man or woman, will not be a useful member of a professional group, and will come to seem more than a little archaic. But it behooves women to remember that they are relatively new members of the professions, for the most part greatly in the minority, and not to attach too great importance to the resentment—frequently unintentional—that always manifests itself in one form or another over the introduction of new workers into any group.

Professional women as yet have not gone extensively into independent practice. Although this has perhaps been due chiefly to financial inexperience and timidity, it may be

that it represents an advantage rather than a limitation, since it ranges them definitely on the side of public service in one form or another instead of on the side of a kind of professional competition that is coming to seem outworn. It disentangles them from old professional conventions and rivalries, and puts them at the service of various social groups. Where they are setting up for themselves, they seem to be doing it in the modern spirit of group consulting practitioners.

The various methods of securing salaried employment and the prospects of some form of nation-wide professional employment service have been discussed in Chapter XX and elsewhere. But no reliance upon such services can take the place altogether of individual initiative and direct application to employers. This is in itself a valuable part of professional training. With the growth of modern personnel departments in organizations and firms, proper direct application is bound to become less haphazard and wasteful.

The problem of professional women and marriage has been discussed briefly in Chapter II. With our enlarging views of both, the two things are coming to seem less mutually exclusive. It would be disastrous, if it were not futile, to ask women to choose between professional careers and marriage. More and more, professional women are marrying; more and more, married women are professional. Neither status is fundamentally incompatible with the other, in spite of innumerable practical difficulties. In the future, professional men may be expected to make adjustments as well as professional women. What has been said of the development of group practice indicates one line of modification. But whether she continues her professional work actively or not, the modern woman with professional training and experience is bound to make them felt for the public good in the home and the community.

SELECTED AND ANNOTATED READING LIST

THIS list is not a bibliography. It merely calls attention to some of the more recent or distinctive publications. More detailed references are to be found in the text.

The material on professional occupations is scattering, and recent events render much of it obsolete. Some of the studies of opportunities for women are more detailed than anything existing for men. But the new interest in better professional adjustments is manifesting itself in efforts to provide specific occupational information for young men. Women may well consult this material more freely than they have done in the past, in order to secure a juster and broader understanding of the actual situation and developments in the several professional fields. There is, moreover, a tendency toward describing professions in terms of both men and women workers, which is to be commended, and needs to be strengthened. In fact, there is need of much more thorough comparative studies of professions and professional psychology. Professional schools and professional associations are beginning to recognize the importance of analyzing the careers of their graduates and members, of coöperating more closely with employers and workers, and of exchanging information among the professions. At present, much of the most useful material is to be found in pamphlets, reports, catalogues, and periodicals, rather than in books.

Four main groups of material may conveniently be distinguished.

I. PUBLICATIONS DESIGNED PRIMARILY FOR MEN BUT USEFUL FOR WOMEN:

There are few books for men dealing with professions in general.

Vocational Guidance for the Professions, by Edwin Tenney Brewster, Rand, McNally Company (1917), is a popular handbook, addressed chiefly to high school students.

Occupations, A Text-Book in Vocational Guidance, by Enoch B. B. Gowin and William A. Wheatley, Ginn and Company (1916), includes brief descriptions of occupations of a professional character. *A Guide to the Study of Occupations,* by Frederick J. Allen, Harvard University Press (1921), promises to be valuable.

The current demand for occupational information is indicated by the appearance of several series of books on professions and allied occupations. Each volume is a brief popular treatment of a given occupation, based on little special investigation but written by a well-known practitioner in the field described. Volumes even in the same series vary greatly in merit and in the amount of information given.

The Training Series, published by the J. B. Lippincott Company, includes *Training of a Salesman,* by William Maxwell; *Training for the Electrical Railway Business,* by C. P. Fairchild; *Training for the Newspaper Trade,* by Don C. Seitz; *Training for the Stage,* by Arthur Hornblow; *Training and Rewards of the Physician,* by Dr. Richard C. Cabot; *Training of a Forester,* by Gifford Pinchot; *Training of a Life Insurance Agent,* by Warren M. Horner; *Training and Rewards of a Lawyer,* by Harlan F. Stone, is announced.

The Opportunity Series, published by Harper and Brothers, contains brief volumes on *Opportunities in Chemistry,* by Ellwood Hendrick—very slight; in *Farming* and *Out of Doors,* by Edward Owen Dean—of practical value; in *Merchant Ships,* by Nelson Collins; in the *Newspaper Business,* by James Melvin Lee—also good; in *Aviation,* by Arthur Sweetzer; in *Engineering,* by Joseph M. Horton.

The Young Man and Vocations Series, which the Macmillan Company is beginning, is to include the following volumes: *The Young Man and the Law,* by Judge Simeon E. Baldwin; *The Young Man and the Ministry,* by Rev. Charles R. Brown; *The Young Man and Teaching,* by Dean Henry Parks Wright; *The Young Man and Medicine,* by Dr. Lewellys F. Barker; *The Young Man and Banking,* by Frank A. Vanderlip; *The Young Man and Mechanical Engineering,* by Lester P. Breckinridge; *The Young Man and Electrical Engineering,* by Charles F. Swain; *The Young Man and Civil Engineering,* by George F. Swain; *The Young Man and Farming,* by L. H. Bailey; *The Young Man and Government Service,* by William H. Taft. The two volumes which have appeared, *The Young Man and the Law* and *The Young Man and Teaching* (1920), are written by distinguished elders.

The Opportunity Monographs, issued during 1919 by the Federal Board for Vocational Education in its Vocational Rehabilitation Series for disabled soldiers, are brief pamphlets largely derived from published material but containing considerable concrete information. Monographs dealing with occupations of professional character are *Forestry Pursuits; Employment Management; The Law as a Vocation; Journalism as a Vocation; Farm Management as a Vocation; Teaching as a Vocation; General Farming as a Vocation; Commercial Occupations.*

Personnel System of the United States Army, Two Volumes, Government Printing Office (1919), gives a detailed account of the significant work done during the war by the Army Committee on Classification of Personnel of the War Department. It contains a number of professional specifications, and is of value to all persons concerned with the selection and placement of professional workers.

Trade Specifications and Index of Professions and Trades in the Army, Third Edition (November, 1918), is a manual issued by this Committee, containing occupational classifications and many professional specifications.

Army Mental Tests, by Robert M. Yerkes and Clarence S. Yoakum, Henry Holt and Co. (1920), describes the parallel undertaking of giving group intelligence tests to the army.

The Harvard Bureau of Vocational Guidance has issued or sponsored several books on professional occupations and vocation guidance, including *The Law as a Vocation,* second edition (1919); *Advertising as a Vocation,* Macmillan Co. (1919); *Business Employments,* Ginn and Company (1916) and *A Guide to the Study of Occupations* (1921), all by Frederick J. Allen; *The Vocational Guidance Movement,* by John M. Brewer, Macmillan Company (1918); and *Readings in Vocational Guidance,* by Meyer Bloomfield, Ginn and Company (1916).

A Study of Engineering Education, by Charles Riborg Mann, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin Number Eleven (1918), throws light on newer movements in these professions, and is suggestive for all concerned with professional education.

Report of Committee of the Engineering Council on Classification and Compensation of Engineers (Pamphlet, 1919) contains much with respect to salaries and grades that is useful for other professions.

II. PUBLICATIONS DESIGNED FOR BOTH MEN AND WOMEN:

Vocational Advice for College Students, Bulletin of Oberlin College, New Series 142, May, 1918, contains brief descriptions of the occupations, arranged alphabetically, including statements from members of the faculty of pre-professional and professional courses offered at Oberlin, and professional courses elsewhere; letters of advice from practitioners of the several professions, and bibliogra-

phies of material on the professions to be found in the Oberlin libraries. Some of the newer professions, such as employment management or personnel service, are not dealt with; the treatment of the sciences and psychology is inadequate. Advertising, journalism and publishing, the ministry and other religious occupations, including missionary work and service under the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, are particularly well described.

Vocational Information, prepared by the Committee on Vocational Guidance, Leland Stanford Junior University Bulletin, Third Series, Number 22, June, 1919, is more detailed than the Oberlin bulletin, although lacking the concrete interest of advice from those in the professions. Its accounts of agriculture, the commercial occupations, education, including psychological examining, engineering, medicine and public health, science and applied science are particularly good. Its references are useful.

The Report of the Congressional Joint Committee on Reclassification of Salaries in the Washington Civil Service, Government Printing Office, March, 1920, contains specifications of positions on the basis of duties and qualifications, and schedules of compensation for the respective classes. Its findings with respect to present conditions in the Civil Service, comparison with non-governmental employments, and recommendations looking to the establishment of the Civil Service Commission as a modern central personnel agency for the government are of great value for all persons interested in matters of occupations and employment.

State and city reclassifications, such as those of New York State and City, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, and the recent Canadian Civil Service Reclassification, are also valuable.

Employment Psychology, by Henry C. Link, Macmillan Company (1919), gives the results and techniques of vocational psychological tests without making extravagant claims.

Recent publications on the professional aspects of industry and commerce are almost too numerous to mention, but the following titles will be found useful:

Scientific Management and Labor, by R. F. Hoxie, D. Appleton and Company (1915).

The Works Manager To-day, by Sidney Webb. Longmans, Green and Company (1917).

Modern Industrial Movements, edited by Daniel Bloomfield. H. W. Wilson Company (1919).

The Administration of Industrial Enterprises, by Edwin D. Jones. Longmans, Green and Company (1916).

When the Workmen Help You Manage, by W. R. Bassett. Century Company (1919).

What Is on the Worker's Mind, by Whiting Williams. Charles Scribner's Sons (1920).

Personnel Administration, by Ordway Tead and Henry C. Metcalf, McGraw-Hill Book Company (1920), is probably the fullest account of principles and methods in the field of industrial relations.

The Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the National Association of Employment Managers (now called *The Industrial Relations Association of America*), (May, 1919, 1920) and the journal of the Association, *Personnel,* give current information and discussion.

Employment Management Series (Nine Bulletins, 1919-1920), Federal Board for Vocational Education, is prepared by experts.

Commercial Research, by C. S. Duncan. Macmillan Company (1919).

Business Research and Statistics, by J. G. Frederick. D. Appleton and Company (1920).

Business Statistics, by Melvin T. Copeland. Harvard University Press (1917).

An Introduction to Statistics (1917), and *Readings and Problems in Statistical Methods* (1920), by Horace Secrist. Macmillan Company.

Allan C. Haskell. *How to Make and Use Graphic Charts.* Codex Book Company, Inc. (1919).

Graphic Methods for Presenting Facts, by Willard C. Brinton. Engineering Publishing Company (1914).

Other publications bearing on the subject-matter of the several chapters are:

Organized Efforts for the Improvement of Methods of Administration in the United States, by Gustavus A. Weber. D. Appleton and Company (1919).

Americanization Studies Made Under the Auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Allen T. Burns, Director. Eleven volumes. Harper and Brothers (1920-1921).

Advertise! By E. Sampson. D. C. Heath and Company (1918).

Principles of Advertising Arrangement, by Frank Parsons. Prang Company (1912).

Attention Value of Advertisements. New York University Bureau of Business Research (Pamphlet, 1920).

Effective House Organs, by Robert E. Ramsey. D. Appleton and Company (1920).

A. B. C. of Exhibit Planning, by E. G. and M. S. Routzahn. Survey and Exhibit Series. Russell Sage Foundation (1919).

Traveling Publicity Campaigns, by Mary S. Routzahn. Same Series (1920).

Community Drama and Pageantry, by Mary P. Beegle and Jack R. Crawford. Yale University Press (1916).

Community Drama, by Percy Mackaye. Houghton Mifflin Company (1917).

Patriotic Drama in Your Town, by Constance D. Mackaye. Henry Holt and Company (1918).

The Little Theatre in the United States, by same author. Henry Holt and Company (1917).

The Open-Air Theatre, by Sheldon Cheney. Mitchell Kennerley (1918).

Cinema Craftsmanship, by Frances T. Patterson. Harcourt, Brace and Howe (1920).

How to Write Photo-Plays, by John Emerson and Anita Loos. James A. McCann Company (1920).

The New World of Science, by Robert M. Yerkes. Century Company (1920).

The Measurement of Intelligence, by Lewis M. Terman. Houghton Mifflin Company (1916).

The Psychology of Subnormal Children, by Leta S. Hollingworth. Macmillan Company (1920).

The Principles of Mental Hygiene, by William A. White, M. D. Macmillan Company (1917).

The Mental Hygiene of Childhood, by the same author. Little, Brown, and Company (1919).

Mental Hygiene:—various articles such as *Mental Hygiene and the Public School,* by Arnold Gesell, January, 1919; *The Responsibilities of the Universities in Promoting Mental Hygiene,* by C. Macfie Campbell, M. D., April, 1919; *Program for Mental Hygiene in the Public Schools,* April, 1920; *Mental Hygiene of Industry,* by Mary C. Jarrett, October, 1920.

The Vocational Guidance Movement, by John M. Brewer. Macmillan Company (1918).

Cleveland Education Survey: 25 Volumes (1915-1917). Allen T. Burns, Director. Cleveland Foundation. The last volume, by Leonard P. Ayres, under whose direction most of the surveys were made, is on methods and costs.

Cleveland Recreation Survey. 7 Volumes (1918). Roland Haines, Director. Cleveland Foundation.

Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey. 11 Volumes (in pamphlet form, 1920). Haven Emerson, M. D., Director. Cleveland Hospital Council.

A Survey of the Administration of Justice in Cleveland is being made during 1920-1921 by the Cleveland Foundation, under the direction of Dean Roscoe Pound, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, and Mr. Reginald H. Smith.

Gary Public Schools. 8 Parts. General Education Board (1918-1919).

III. PUBLICATIONS DESIGNED PRIMARILY FOR WOMEN:

Vocations for Business and Professional Women, Bulletin Number One, Bureau of Vocational Information, New York (May, 1919), is a pamphlet containing brief but explicit and trustworthy information about a wide range of occupations for women.

The Bureau of Vocational Information is issuing four intensive studies of women in special occupations which set a high standard in thoroughness and breadth:

Statistical Work for Women, Bulletin Number Two (1921).

Women in the Law: An Analysis of Training, Practice, and Salaried Positions. Bulletin Number Three (1920).

The Woman Chemist. Bulletin Number Four (1921).

Positions of Responsibility in Department Store Organizations: A Study of Opportunities for Women. Bulletin Number Five (1921).

Careers for Women, Catherine Filene, Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company (1920), is a recent and detailed treatment of occupations for women, arranged on the contributory plan with nearly two hundred brief articles by successful women who are engaged in the various types of work which they describe, each article considering the following points: description of occupation, training necessary, opportunity for advancement, financial return, qualifications desirable, advantages and disadvantages, and followed by a brief list of suggested readings. The different articles of necessity vary in merit, and there are both overlappings and omissions. But the book contains a range of information not to be found elsewhere and valuable lists and addresses of professional schools, associations, employers, etc.

The Girl and the Job, by Helen C. Hoerle and Florence B. Salsberg, Henry Holt and Company (1919), is written by teachers in a New York City vocational high school for girls, and is addressed to high school rather than college or professional school graduates, although it describes a number of professional occupations. It is based on interviews, and contains lively, if not always carefully weighed, information.

Careers After the War: A Guide to the Professions and Occupations of Educated Women and Girls, Women's Employment Publishing Company, Limited, London (Fifth Edition. No date), is made up of articles written by persons in different occupations. While not limited to the professions, it provides a useful basis of comparison between British conditions and conditions in the United States. The original issue, *The Finger-Post,* was the first serious book of the kind.

Women's Employment: A Paper Dealing with Employment Questions as they Affect Educated Women, is issued bi-monthly by the same publishers, and is now (1920) in its twentieth volume.

Occupations for Trained Women in Canada, by Alice Vincent Massey, J. M. Dent and Company (1920), is a brief but well-organized account, written with a knowledge of conditions in Great Britain and the United States and showing the lack of Canadian facilities for training and employment in several important fields.

Vocations Open to College Women, Minneapolis (no date), is a pamphlet issued by the University of Minnesota. It contains an especially good account of commercial and scientific photography.

Reports of the annual conferences of the Intercollegiate Vocation Guidance Association, an organization of women undergradu-

ates, giving addresses delivered by experts in various occupational fields, are to be found in *Education* and the *Journal of Education*, Boston, Mass., under dates since 1917.

Two at least of the women's colleges have issued bulletins dealing with the pre-professional aspects of the college course; and a Committee of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ is preparing a report on Pre-Professional Requirements, which will be made in April, 1921.

Occupations Towards Which Wellesley Courses May Lead, Wellesley, Massachusetts (1918).

The Relation of Vassar Courses to Vocational Opportunities, Bulletin (1921).

Special studies of interest to educators are:

A Comparative Study of the Curricula of Wellesley, Smith, and Vassar Colleges, by Hermione L. Dealey. Pedagogical Seminary, September, 1915.

College Curricula and Interests of College Women, by the same author, School and Society, September 6, 1919.

The Curriculum of the Woman's College (based on a study of Vassar, Wellesley, Radcliffe, Barnard, and Mount Holyoke colleges) by Mabel L. Robinson. Bulletin of U. S. Bureau of Education 1918. Number 6.

The Adviser of Girls in a High School, by Romiett Stevens Teachers College Record. September, 1919.

General and local studies of women in particular occupations are increasing in number, and are greatly needed. Besides the four bulletins of the Bureau of Vocational Information, on women in statistical work, the law, chemistry, and department stores, already listed, the following describe approximately current conditions. They vary greatly in thoroughness:

Opportunities for Women in the Municipal Civil Service of the City of New York. Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations, New York (1918). To be procured from Bureau of Vocational Information.

Women in Government Service, by Bertha M. Nienburg. Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin Number Eight (1920).

Women in Banking in the City of Minneapolis. Occupational Bulletin Number One. Woman's Occupational Bureau (1919). Also leaflets on Home Economics Positions in Minneapolis, The Field of Social Work, and Opportunities in Journalism, issued by the Woman's Occupational Bureau (1920).

Positions in Social Work in Minneapolis. Council of Social Agencies. Bulletin Number One (1919). The majority of workers dealt with are women.

Expenditures and Salaries of Case Workers. The Family. March and April, 1919.

Possibilities in Home Economics Work, by Melissa F. Snyder, Office of Home Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture. Journal of Home Economics. April, 1920.

Women Preachers, by Mary Sumner Boyd (a study based on inquiries sent to the hundred largest denominations in the United States). The Woman Citizen. December 18, 1920.

Opportunities for Trained Women in Cleveland Factories. Cleveland Bureau of Occupations for Trained Women (Pamphlet, 1919).

Executive and Technical Women in Factories in and about New York City. Employment Department, Central Branch Young Women's Christian Association, New York (Pamphlet, 1920).

Opportunities and Salaries of Women in the Teaching Profession in Nebraska. Journal of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. March-April, 1920.

The Bulletin of the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations. Published by the Bureau of Vocational Information. Ten Numbers. November, 1919—October, 1920. This bulletin contains reports from the fourteen bureaus of occupations throughout the country in the membership of the National Committee and other valuable information.

A group of recent publications deal with store occupations for women.

Department Store Education, by Helen R. Norton. Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Education, Number 9, 1917.

A Text-Book on Retail Selling, by the same author. Ginn and Company (1919).

Retail Selling, by Mrs. Lucinda W. Prince. Bulletin Number 22. Federal Board for Vocational Education (1919).

The Educational Director, by Beulah E. Kennard. The Ronald Press Company (1918).

Positions of Responsibility in Department Store Organizations: A Study of Opportunities for Women. Bureau of Vocational Information. Bulletin Number Five (1921).

Training for Store Service, by Lucile Eaves. Richard G. Badger (1920). Studies in Economic Relations of Women. Women's Educational and Industrial Union.

Two local and special bulletins listing opportunities for training give information of more than temporary value:

Opportunities for War-Time Training for Women in New York City. 1918-1919. Compiled by the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations and published by the Clearing House for War-Time Training for Women (1918). To be procured from Bureau of Vocational Information.

Art Education: An Investigation of the Training Available in New York City for Artists and Artisans. Compiled by Florence Levy.

Older publications on women and professional occupations are as follows:

Vocations for the Trained Woman. Parts One, Two, Three Studies in Economic Relations of Women. Volume One. Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Boston.

Part 1 (1910), edited by Agnes F. Perkins, contains articles on various occupations by experts in these fields. It is out of print.

Part 2 (1914) contains studies of opportunities for women in agriculture, social service, secretarial service, and real estate, in Massachusetts and Boston, by Eleanor Martin and Margaret A. Post.

Part 3 (1916) contains *Opportunities for Women in Domestic Science,* by Marie Francke, published as Bulletin Two of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ.

Women and Work, by Helen M. Bennett, Manager of the Chicago Collegiate Bureau of Occupations, D. Appleton and Company (1917), is general but suggestive.

The Dean of Women, by Lois Kimball Matthews, Houghton Mifflin Company (1916), discusses the administration of vocational and other activities for women in a coeducational university.

The Ambitious Woman in Business, by Eleanor Gilbert, Funk and Wagnalls Company (1916), is still probably the best single treatment of women in commercial occupations. Its chapters on women in advertising, women in wholesale or outside selling, and women as business executives are particularly useful. But there have been many developments since the book was written.

Publications of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ (established 1882) contain many reports and articles on occupations for college women; especially the Journal of the Association, begun in 1907. To be noted are a report on *Economic Efficiency of College Women,* by Susan M. Kingsbury, February, 1910; *Vocational Number,* April, 1913; *A Census of College Women,* by Mary Van Kleeck, May, 1918; and *Reports of the Committee on Vocational Opportunities other than Teaching* from 1910 on. The Association has issued two vocational bulletins:

Bulletin Number One. *Vocational Training:* A Classified List of Institutions Training Educated Women for Occupations Other than Teaching. Compiled by Elizabeth Kemper Adams (1913). A revised edition is planned.

Bulletin Number Two. *Opportunities for Women in Domestic Science,* by Marie Francke (1916). Published as Part Three of Vocations for the Trained Woman. Women's Educational and Industrial Union.

Alumnæ quarterlies and other alumnæ publications of the women's colleges and the publications of women's Greek letter societies in coeducational institutions frequently and increasingly contain articles on the occupations and occupational opportunities of women college and university graduates.

Attention may be called to certain recent publications dealing with teaching, nursing, and social work, the three chief professions in which women workers predominate.

(1) Teaching.

The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools, Based upon an Examination of Tax-Supported Normal Schools in the State of Missouri, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin Number Fourteen, 1920, urges that normal schools be made a constituent part of the state university system, like other professional schools, and that professionally trained women teachers continue teaching after marriage. It also discusses the relations of men to teaching and school administration.

The Nation and the Schools, by John A. H. Keith and William C. Bagley. Macmillan Company (1921).

(2) Nursing.

The Rockefeller Foundation is making an exhaustive study of nursing education; and books on public health nursing and its special phases are multiplying, such as

Public Health Nursing, by Mary S. Gardner. Macmillan Company (1916).

Organization of Public Health Nursing, by Annie M. Brainard. Macmillan Company (1919).

The School Nurse, by Lina R. Struthers. G. P. Putnam's Sons (1917).

The Tuberculosis Nurse, by Ellen M. LaMotte. G. P. Putnam's Sons (1915).

Industrial Nursing, by Florence S. Wright. Macmillan Company (1919).

Reports, pamphlets, and other periodical literature, may be procured through the National Organization for Public Health Nursing.

(3) Social Work.

The Russell Sage Foundation is undertaking a study of education and training for social work.

The Scientific Spirit and Social Work, by Arthur James Todd, Macmillan Company (1919), is overweighted with philosophical generalization, but emphasizes the professional attitude. Chapter VII on the Labor Turnover in Social Agencies is especially valuable.

Field Work and Social Research, by Stuart F. Chapin. Century Company (1920).

Social Service and the Art of Healing, by Richard C. Cabot, M. D., Moffat, Yard and Company (1909), discusses informally but suggestively the professional character of social work, especially in its relations to medicine.

Social Work: Essays on the Meeting Ground of Doctor and Social Worker, by the same author, Houghton Mifflin Company (1919), deals somewhat fully with the medical social worker and her duties.

Dispensaries: Their Management and Development, by Michael M. Davis and Andrew R. Warner, M. D., Macmillan Company, (1918), presents fresh and valuable points of view.

Social Diagnosis, by Mary E. Richmond, Russell Sage Foundation (1917), is an authoritative presentation of the established methods and techniques of social case work.

The Social Case History, by Ada E. Sheffield (1920), is a more limited study under the same auspices.

Other Russell Sage Publications of special interest are: *The Delinquent Child and the Home,* by S. P. Breckenridge and E. Abbott (1916); *Social Work in Hospitals,* by Ida B. Cannon (1913); *Broken Homes,* by Joanna C. Colcord (1919); *Household Administration,* by Florence Nesbitt (1918); *The Neglected Girl,* by Ruth S. True (1914).

The Individual Delinquent (1915), and *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct* (1917), by William Healy, M. D., Little, Brown and Company, are by the foremost authority in this field.

Among journals in this field are *The Survey, The Family, The Hospital Social Service Quarterly. Mental Hygiene* frequently contains articles of social value.

For articles on psychiatric social work, see *Mental Hygiene,* especially *The Training School of Psychiatric Social Work at Smith College,* by W. A. Neilson *et al.,* October, 1918; *The Psychiatric Thread Running Through All Social Case Work,* by Mary C. Jarrett, April, 1919; *Special Preparation of the Psychiatric Social*

Worker, by Bernard Glueck, M. D., and *Qualifications of the Psychiatric Social Worker,* by Jessie Taft, July, 1919.

IV. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS, REPORTS OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, FOUNDATIONS, ETC., BULLETINS OF INSTITUTIONS, PROFESSIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PERIODICALS.

Bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Education, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the States Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Women's Bureau, and the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor; the Department of Commerce, frequently contain important vocational material. Many of these agencies also issue periodicals, such as *School Life, The Vocational Summary,* and *Monthly Labor Review.*

Reports of organizations like the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association, the Council on Legal Education of the American Bar Association, the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education; the Educational Committee of the Technology Clubs Associated, the Associations of Collegiate Schools of Architecture and of Business, the Association of American Library Schools, the Association of Training Schools of Professional Social Work; reports of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and other great foundations, the American Council on Education, the National Education Association, the American Association of University Professors, the National Society for Vocational Education, the National Vocational Guidance Association, and numerous others, are rich in material.

Among periodicals devoted to professions and occupations may be mentioned Administration: the Journal of Business Analysis and Control; American Physical Education Review; Factory; The Family; Filing; Hospital Social Service Quarterly; Industrial Management; Journal of Home Economics; Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry; Journal of Industrial Medicine; Library Journal; Mental Hygiene; Personnel; Playground; Printers' Ink; Public Health Nurse; School and Society; Special Libraries; The Survey; System.

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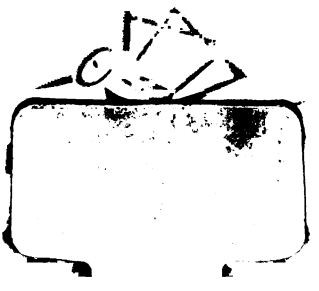
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